Migration, work and housing in Northampton, 1841-71

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I, Frank Clifford German, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the growth and development of Northampton, a mid-sized market town with a substantial boot and shoe-making industry, employing almost half the working population. The trade was initially carried on by craftsmen and their families working from home, and moved only gradually from 1859 onwards into newly-built factories where components were assembled by machinists, including many female and juvenile workers.

Source materials include four successive censuses from 1841 to 1871 and a comprehensive run of rate books recording the tenants, owners and rateable values of newly-built and existing residential and commercial properties over the period, as well as trade directories listing the principal commercial, industrial and service activities.

Together they track and analyse the physical growth of the town, the number and value of new properties built each year, the impact of rating changes, the pattern of ownership, and rateable values per head of the population and turnover rates for tenants and owners, as well as the structure and distribution of the population by age, gender, occupations and birthplaces, street by street, over thirty years.

It has been possible to construct age, gender and birthplace pyramids for a representative sample of streets containing over 20 per cent of the population, to calculate migration quotients linking inflows from and contraflows to over 300 parishes within a catchment area roughly 30 miles across, and establish a pattern of movements to and from parishes of differing sizes, distances and population dynamics; and to analyse inflows from contiguous and more distant counties and large cities, and from London, Scotland and Ireland.

The results support a detailed commentary on the original laws of migration first propounded by Ravenstein and combine into a study of the principal processes at work in Northampton, the patterns that emerged on the ground and the links between them.

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Acknowledgements

My thanks are due to many people who have helped me and encouraged me over what has become a very long period of time. The research had its origins in a study begun at Cambridge in 1959 but the substance dates from this century. The effort and the objectives of the research are mine, as are the complementary elements of inspiration and perspiration needed to bring it to its present stage and the inevitable shortcomings that must inevitably remain. But it could not have been possible without the help of a succession of individuals and institutions spanning the years, not least the contribution of the late Mr P. I. King, the archivist at the Northamptonshire Record Office, who took the trouble to contact me several years after initial work had been shelved, to say that he had discovered missing documents and they were now held in the Record Office. Sadly my efforts to find him and thank him before his death were frustrated, but I am happy to put them on record now.

The Record Office itself was the source of most of the raw material I have used to bring the study to this stage of preparation and I am grateful to the staff for the cheerful and efficient way they located and supplied me with literally hundreds of rate books and microfiches of the census data for the four censuses used to source the raw material for the study. If I single out one individual it must be Mr Crispin Powell whose encyclopaedic knowledge of the contents of the Record Office greatly simplified the effort.

No one person could have performed the task of collecting and analysing and presenting the data in its present form, and my thanks are due to Ms Tara Calder who collated the spread-sheets onto which my initial data had been transferred, and Mr Robin Green, who helped me create the tables, Mr Miles Irving of UCL who prepared the initial series of black and white maps, and especially to Mr Paul Stroud of the University of Northampton who took over the task of turning my statistics and ideas for coloured maps into reality. The task he willingly undertook grew relentlessly over time in a way that neither of us could have predicted but he patiently interpreted my demands, provided me with practical insight and delivered the goods promptly and accurately. When the text has been forgotten I am confident his maps will remain as an ongoing tribute to the work of the cartographer and his computer. Thanks are due to Ms Polly Geater, head of the geography library at UCL, who guided me through the

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I am greatly beholden to my late parents, who supported me as an eternal student until I was 27 years old, shared my joys and sorrows throughout my career and never quite lost faith in my determination and ability eventually to re-start and even to finish the research I began so hopefully in 1959. I am sorry they did not live to see the task resumed let alone completed.

The list of academics who have helped me along the way must begin with the late Dr B.H. Farmer, my director of studies at St John's College, Cambridge, who encouraged me to not to take up the offer of management trainee at a well-known chocolate manufacturer based near Birmingham and instead to spend some time as a teaching fellow at the University of Michigan and Wayne State University, Detroit, and then return to Cambridge as a research student, and was mortified when I failed to find a way through the obstacles posed by missing rate books. The range of sources has been considerably extended and the computer has made possible a degree of detail in the analysis that would have been impractical with the methods available in 1960. When I made my first attempts in 2004 to pick up where I had left off, I was also largely unaware of the extent to which geographical thinking and methodology had progressed, and I am increasingly conscious of the thanks due to Professor Hugh Clout and Professor Richard Dennis of UCL who overcame their well-founded initial doubts and agreed to accept me as a mature, not to say superannuated, research student. I am especially grateful to Professor Dennis who took on the task of becoming my supervisor, nudged me in the direction of the mass of accumulated research material, much of it dating back to the nineteen-sixties and the heyday of historical geographical studies based on the manuscript censuses, accepted my ingrained preference for following wherever the data led and for creating a succession of rough drafts, then adding to, cutting, switching and refining them rather than the conventional method of defining my objectives and completing them in an orderly fashion. He has patiently read and re-read the preliminary findings and successively refined drafts, pointing out their failings and inadequacies, without ever extinguishing my hopes of creating a work of sufficient academic merit to submit to eventual examination.

Chapter 1
The Context.

The objective of this thesis is to examine aspects of the growth of the town of Northampton between the censuses of 1841 and 1871. The topics include the increase in population, the expansion of the housing stock and the changing housing mix; the patterns of ownership and occupancy of the properties; the parallel expansion, character and ownership of the commercial property stock; the structure and balance of population by age and gender, occupations and birthplaces of the inhabitants over time, differences between workers in the dominant footwear trades, domestic servants, and others; between the locally born population and incomers from surrounding villages, and from nearby small towns, from settlements with a history of activity in the footwear trades and those without; and incomers from other cities, towns and counties further afield across the United Kingdom. The bulk of the raw data will be drawn from the four decennial censuses, from a run of rate books covering the whole town at least once a year, and a series of trade directories published during the period under study.

While geographers have traditionally focused on diversity and differentiation in space historians, social commentators and sociologists have studied the evolution of the social and economic character of cities. From the early nineteenth century onwards the crowded, polluted and insanitary conditions in which the urban poor were forced to live attracted the attention of social reformers, writers, politicians and political commentators such as Chadwick, Dickens, Disraeli and Engels, sociologists, urban historians and urban geographers have taken up these themes with special emphasis on the evolution of Victorian cities, and town planners have used the legacy of Victorian cities as the basis for their work.

The beginnings of modern geography in the early nineteenth century focused on the links between man and nature, and the variety of ways the links expressed themselves, including causes and effects, but the rapid growth of population and the progressive urbanisation of the developed world inexorably diversified the subject away from natural regions, the physical environment and agricultural activities towards the study

of urban settlements and their socio-economic environment and the industrial activities which sustained their growth. Meanwhile the spatial relationships between towns and cities and their surrounding regions have been studied by von Thunen in the nineteenth century and by Christaller and Loesch in the twentieth century.

From around 1920 the Chicago school of sociologists attempted to identify towns and cities as organic bodies, with specialised zones and functions. Emphasis later switched to the creation of structural models for expanding cities, exemplified in the work of Hoyt, Alonso, Robson, Conzen and Whitehand, determined by physical and socio-economic and market forces acting on the use of space, and evolving over time through a succession of stages.[1] Pritchard identified a morphological tradition focused on physical growth and housing forms typified by Conzen's 1960 study of Alnwick and an ecological approach emphasising socio-economic evolution.[2] Cambridge pioneered the application of quantitative methods to geography from 1960 onwards.

Victorian city studies.

Contributors to the conference at Leicester University's Centre for Urban History published in 1967 identified a variety of themes from physical growth and structure to demographic and socio-economic development.[3] The release of nineteenth-century census data triggered a massive growth in quantitative studies analysing the growth and differentiation of cities fuelled by industrialisation, urbanisation, inwards migration and improvements in transportation. Successive censuses provided the raw material for a multiplicity of studies while the simultaneous development and application of increasingly powerful computers opened the way to an explosion of detailed analytical and statistical studies and to the exploration of potential causal relationships in geography, associated in particular with the University of Lund in the 1960s onwards, and exemplified by Harvey's early work on methodology.[4]

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1 See R.J. Chorley and P. Haggett, (eds.) *Socio-Economic Models in Geography,* London, 1967, pp.335-360 and J.W.R. Whitehand, *The Changing Face of Cities,* Oxford, 1987, pp.30-59.

2 R.M. Pritchard, *Housing and the spatial structure of the city,* Cambridge, 1976, pp. 7-9.

3 H.J. Dyos (ed.) *The Study of Urban History,* Leicester, 1967.

4 D.W. Harvey, *Explanation in Geography,* London, 1969.

Most early studies concentrated on the larger and faster growing towns and cities where patterns on the ground evolved most dramatically and the social consequences of rapid urbanisation, and especially overcrowding, inadequate water supplies and the neglect of basic sewage facilities led to periodic epidemics of cholera and typhus and a distinct rise in mortality rates for adults and for children. The role of smaller towns, especially older market towns bypassed by the railways and the factory system, and of rural areas suffering the effects of enclosures, the mechanisation of farming and then the impact of increasing competition from cheaper imported food were relatively neglected in the first rush of enthusiasm for urban studies.

Some studies attempted to fit individual cases to the classic models of urban evolution,[5] and to establish a theoretical basis for urban development, while others identified a variety of themes, notably housing forms and size,[6] the impact of leasehold and freehold tenure,[7] the identification and evolution of "social areas"[8], relations between shapes on the ground and shapes in society,[9] patterns of migration and mobility, increasing class and occupational segregation and the development of identifiable social areas[10] and the roles of improvements in transport and technology in transforming cities from pre-industrial to post-industrial and suburban stages of development.

Much of the raw material for these studies came from the nineteenth-century censuses. Little other than local notebooks has survived of the earliest censuses and the 1841 census listed only estimated ages, and assigned birthplaces to within or outside the county of residence, and the 1851 census, the first to permit detailed

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5 B T Robson, *Urban Analysis: a Study of City Structure*, Cambridge, 1969.

6 M.J. Daunton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: working class housing 1850-1914*, London, 1983, pp.38-59.

7 Daunton, *House and Home*, pp.60-77.

8 B.T. Robson, *Urban Social Areas*, Oxford, 1975; D.T. Herbert and R J. Johnston, *Social Areas in Cities: Processes, Patterns and Problems*, Chichester, 1978*;* also M. Shaw, 'Reconciling social and physical space: Wolverhampton, 1871' ; H. Carter and S. Wheatley, 'Fixation lines and fringe belts, land uses and social areas; nineteenth century change in the small town'; K.A. Cowlard, The identification of social (class) areas and their place in nineteenth century urban development' all in *Trans. IBG*, **n.s. 4, 2,** 1979.

9 D. Cannadine, 'Residential differentiation in nineteenth century towns: from shapes on the ground to shapes in society' in J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities*, London, 1982, pp.235-51.

10 M. Shaw, 'The Ecology of Social Change: Wolverhampton 1851-71', *Trans. IBG*, **n.s. 2**, 1977, pp. 332-48; K.A. Cowlard, 'The urban development of Wakefield', unpublished PhD thesis, Univ. of Leeds 1974; H. Carter and S. Wheatley, *Merthyr Tydfil in 1851*, Cardiff, 1982.

analysis inevitably lacked the time dimension necessary to permit comparisons and the measurements of change. Most studies tried to supplement the data presented by the census with other sources of information including rate books and poll registers, baptismal records and other material that happened to have survived. Inevitably however such material has not been preserved on anything like the scale of the censuses, and the loss of all or part of the rate book record has proved a frustrating exercise, leaving tantalising questions unanswered and unanswerable. But the publication of material from successive censuses at ten year intervals gave fresh impetus to the study of Victorian cities. Lawton's pioneering work focused on the population of Liverpool in the mid- nineteenth century.[11] It was followed by a proliferation of studies, many of them collected in the transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.

The subject was further refreshed by the injection of a political dimension with urban history seen through the prism of Marxist theories of class. Harvey explained emerging urban patterns in terms of the search by an emerging class of capitalists for maximum profits which confined the urban proletariat to specific locations and housing types, especially where class differences were reinforced by ethnic differences. The historian Foster allowed for different class and social patterns to emerge in his study of three English towns, including Northampton.[12] Urban studies have however become the meeting place of many disciplines, from architecture and planning to sociology, economic and social history, and urban geography, discussed by among others Johnson and Pooley.[13] Checkland in 1968 listed 29 separate topics covered by the subject.[14]

Several major themes emerged: the workings of processes and the development of patterns on the ground; and the process of segregation of the socio-economic groups within expanding towns and cities; and the process of migration, from village to town, town to city and town to town in response to population pressure in rural areas, expanded opportunities in expanding urban areas and the improvement in

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11 R. Lawton, 'The population of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century' *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs and Cheshire* **107 (**1955) pp.69-120.

12 J. Foster, *Class struggle and the industrial revolution,* London, 1974

13 J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley, *The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities,* London, 1982, pp.3-6.

14 S.G. Checkland, 'Towards a definition of urban history' in H.J. Dyos (ed), *The Study of Urban History,* (London 1968), pp.351-2.

communications, especially the spread of the railway network. The study of processes and patterns involved in the expansion and development of cities, leading to increasingly segregated zones within "modern" cities based on occupations, ethnic origins, religious affiliations and income levels is now generally regarded as an integral part of the study of urban geography. The contrasting fortunes of exploited slums and favoured suburbs became a favoured theme especially in the hands of Dyos, considered by many to be the "father" of urban history in the UK.[15]

Processes and patterns on the ground.

The search for, and explanation of, patterns on the ground developed into a major theme of research into urban development during the 1960s and 1970s. Pooley reviewed the expansion of the subject, including the reciprocal relationships between urban spaces and people, and the changing structure of British towns.[16] Much effort has been expended in trying to decide whether Victorian cities were modern and if so at what point in their evolution. A study of the modernisation process involves the identification and measurement of successive stages of growth and diversification, the evolution of spatial patterns, the development of urban spaces, suburbs, and the whole complex of social relationships, the evolution of communities, the increasing complexity of city life; the emergence of an "aristocracy of labour", the rise of a middle class, the impact of modern capitalism and technologies on employment patterns and the lifestyles of the working classes. Latterly it extended to include the gradual introduction of government, regulation and order into the previously chaotic and unregulated growth characterised by the laissez-faire philosophy prevalent during the early stages of nineteenth-century urban expansion.

The concept of a universal transition from traditional to modern became widely accepted but controversy raged on the precise speed at which the transition operated and how far various cities had progressed along the path of transition, arguments encapsulated in the debate led by Ward and Cannadine in the 1970s. Ward argued that with the exception of the very wealthiest inhabitants social and residential segregation

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15 H.J. Dyos and D.A. Reeder. 'Slums and suburbs'.

16 C.G. Pooley, 'Patterns on the ground: urban form, residential structure and the social construction of space', in M.J.Daunton, (ed.) *Cambridge Urban History,* v.3, Cambridge, 2000, pp.429-65.

made relatively little progress until the last part of the nineteenth century.[17] Cannadine claimed that the various factors at work in Victorian cities had produced an unprecedented degree of residential segregation by the middle of the century, and that Victorian cities were essentially "modern."[18]

Segregation

Increasing degrees of segregation, both functional and social, have been an inescapable consequence of the rapid physical expansion of towns and cities and of increases in populations, both as a result of natural increase and migration, and of internal mobility. Segregation along class lines progressed fastest and furthest in large cities such as Manchester, Birmingham, and especially London.[19] Numerous studies have focused on the importance of social groupings based on class and occupations. Armstrong applied the Registrar General's 1951 method of dividing the population into five socio-economic classes (professional, intermediate, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled) retrospectively to the data published in the 1851 and subsequent enumerators' books with minor modifications.[20] Researchers including Royle for Leicestershire towns, Warnes (Chorley), Cowlard (Wakefield), Armstrong (York), Tansey (Hull), Carter & Wheatley (Merthyr Tydfil), Lewis (Cardiff), M. Shaw (Wolverhampton), Pooley (Liverpool) and Dyos (Camberwell) used similar classifications, sometimes reduced to three classes, upper, middle and lower. As Dennis has pointed out however the unique features of individual towns led these classifications to lump very different occupational groups within the broad groups.[21] Meanwhile Foster classified populations on overtly political lines as capitalists and workers, with an intermediate class of tradesmen, shopkeepers and craftsmen, Ward identified a professional/capitalist elite, a middle rank of self-employed and small employers, and a working class, while Crossick explored the evidence of labour stratification and the development of a class of artisans within the working class.[22]

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17 D. Ward, 'Victorian cities: how modern? *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 1, 1975, pp. 135-51.

18 D. Cannadine, 'Victorian cities: how different? *Social History*, vol.2, 1977. pp. 457-82.

19 H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880,* London, 1969, pp. 173-4.

20 W.A. Armstrong, 'Social structure from the early census returns' in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *An introduction to English historical demography*, London, 1966, pp.209-37.

21 R.J. Dennis, *English industrial cities of the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1984, pp.188-91.

22 G. Crossick, *An artisan elite in Victorian society: Kentish London, 1840-1880,* London, 1978.

Dennis reviewed studies of segregation in a variety of towns.[23] Different studies found differing degrees of segregation at different times, although larger cities such as Liverpool appear to have developed marked segregation as early as 1851. Cannadine concluded that "an unprecedented degree of segregation" had developed by the mid-nineteenth century,[24] Ward[25] concluded that the degree of segregation in smaller cities was limited, at least until the fourth quarter of the century while Warnes[26] found that in the small town of Chorley in 1851 the only discernible pattern related to the distribution of particular occupational groups and their workplaces. Dennis himself [27] found that high-status areas survived near the centre of Huddersfield as late as 1880 and out-migration took place very slowly, while Dingsdale[28] concluded that in Halifax the evolution of a central commercial district was largely the result of the conversion of existing buildings from residential to commercial purposes, and Pritchard [29] measured the conversion of central Leicester to purely commercial uses by the decline in residentially qualified voters and the tripling of the business vote between 1830 and 1868. Dennis also drew attention to the importance of scale, frequently obscuring the common Victorian experience that rich and poor often lived in close proximity yet still led separate existences, and warned that the increasing scale of development alone could lead to an apparent increase in differentiation.[30]

Migration and mobility

The twin processes of migration and mobility have become essential parts of the field of urban geography. Migration focuses on the unprecedented movement of population from place to place, from village to town and small towns to large towns and to cities, with often unrecognised reverse flows, while mobility emphasises the myriad

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23 Dennis, *English Industrial Cities,* pp. 211-12

24 Cannadine, 'Victorian cities, p.466.

25 D. Ward, 'Environs and neighbours in the "Two Nations": residential differentiation in mid-nineteenth century Leeds', *Journal of Historical Geography,* **6** 1980, pp.133-62.

26 A. M. Warnes, 'Residential patterns in an emerging industrial town' (Chorley), in B.D. Clark and M B. Gleave (eds.) 'Social patterns in cities'. *Trans. IBG,* Special Publication **5**, 1973, pp.178-9, 182-3.

27 Dennis, *English industrial cities*. p.217.

28 A. Dingsdale, 'Yorkshire mill town: a study of the spatial patterns and processes of urban-industrial growth and the evolution of the spatial structure of Halifax, 1801-1901', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Leeds, 1974.

29 Pritchard, *Housing*, pp.43-4.

30 Dennis, *English industrial cities,* pp.200, 201.

complex moves often within small areas which made up the life of most individuals and families. Pooley and Turnbull have reviewed both sources and methods.[31] Feldman emphasised the extent to which traditional definitions of migration ignored the often extreme mobility of the inhabitants of nineteenth-century slums within relatively confined areas of the town or city. He also discussed the effect of the decline in rural crafts and services, and the role of inheritance patterns in swelling the flow of migrants.[32] Several significant studies on residential mobility, persistence and the identification of communities have used census data supplemented by electoral rolls, rate books and town directories, especially Pritchard's work on Leicester, and are summarised by Dennis.[33]

Opinion divides on the relative importance in powering migration of the pull of fast-expanding urban centres where work and social attractions were on offer, and the push forces caused by social and technological changes in villages and agriculture, forcing the previously settled rural population off the land and into dependency on parish relief or into towns in search of a livelihood for themselves and their families.[34] The relative contributions of "push" and "pull" were emphasised by John and Barbara Hammond and Redford respectively.[35]

Migration may well have been intended to be temporary but it is probable that the majority of short-distance migrants were young unattached males looking for work in casual or local trades and younger women especially seeking positions in domestic service. Many will have looked initially for accommodation with relatives or contacts from their home villages leading to an element of clustering of individuals and families from individual villages in particular streets or districts.[36] In extreme cases it led to the development of effective ghettoes, where incomers from Ireland or Jews

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31 C.G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and mobility in Britain since the eighteenth century*, London, 1998.

32 D. Feldman, 'Migration', in M. Daunton (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History, vol. 3, 1840-1950,* Cambridge, 2000, pp.185-206.

33 Dennis, *English industrial cities.*pp.250-69.

34 Feldman, 'Migration', p.190.

35 J.L. Hammond and B. Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, London, 1911.
A. Redford, *Labour migration in England, 1800-50*, Manchester, 1964.

36 M. Anderson, *Family structure in nineteenth century Lancashire*, Cambridge, 1971.

from Eastern Europe concentrated and at the time attracted widespread condemnation.[37]

Superimposed on this pattern of mainly short-distance migration was the predominantly inter-urban and longer distance flow often of rather older, and more prosperous individuals including a higher proportion of professional and commercial migrants, and more frequently including families. As long ago as 1885 Ravenstein attempted to classify the chaotic flows of population across the country and especially from rural to urban areas into ten specialised laws of migration but the subject has been progressively refined into a series of studies mostly derived from the census statistics. Ravenstein's work has itself been reviewed by Grigg.[38] Baines calculated that although proportionately the greatest volume of emigrants left rural areas for the towns and cities a quantitatively larger volume of emigrants originated in urban areas, (although many may have previously migrated from country to town).[39]

Commentators such as Pooley[40] referring to Liverpool, and Armstrong[41] (York), noted a positive correlation between age, social class and the distance covered from birthplace to place of current residence, although Armstrong observed that the class structure of the York-born population was close to the structure of the town as a whole. The principal exception to this rule was the mass movement of Irish, driven out of Ireland by over-population, poverty and the potato famine in the late 1840s. Anderson calculated the mean distance in miles from place of birth for a sample of males over 15 in the 1851 census of Lancashire and observed that factory workers, specifically iron and cotton textiles workers lived a lower average distance from their birthplaces (13.6 and 8.8 miles respectively) than general labourers, (18.4 miles), the average male population (21.9 miles), and much less than artisans (e.g. carpenters and joiners, 28.7 miles) and professional occupations (e.g. schoolmasters 52.4 miles).[42] Withers and Watson, referring to the movement of population into Glasgow from the

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37 House of Lords, 1842, XXVII, pp.293-4:

38 D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein and the "laws of migration", *Journal of Historical Geography*, v.3, 1977, pp.41-54.

39 D.E. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy, 1861-1900*, Cambridge, 1985.

40 C.G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1998, p.13.

41 W.A. Armstrong, 'The interpretation of the census enumerators' books for Victorian towns', in H.J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History*, London, 1968, pp.73-4.

42 M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth-century Lancashire*, Cambridge, 1971, pp.34-41.

Highlands of Scotland found that longer distance migration was more likely to have been a staged movement from smaller to larger settlements.[43]

The problems involved in accurate measurement of migration flows using published data from censuses are discussed by Baines,[44] including methods of adjusting for changes in county boundaries and registration districts and allowing for births, deaths and net migration calculated from birthplace records. Some studies have focused on the housing standards enjoyed by incomers and established populations. According to Anderson Irish immigrants were much less prosperous and worse housed than English-born workers, but British-born incomers on average do not seem to have been any worse off than local-born people in terms of employment in 1851.[45]

If migration is a measure of the movement of population between different places, mobility is defined as the movement within an urban centre associated with the impact of economic fluctuations, the overwhelming predominance of rented accommodation and almost universal insecurity of tenure. In turn residential mobility is a significant influence on the development of communities. According to Dennis "residential mobility is the mechanism whereby the character of social areas is maintained or changed, social areas provide the context within which individuals make decisions about their residential location, and subsequent mobility. Mobility or its opposite, persistence, is also used as an indicator of the stability of communities, and the distances over which the mobile move, the sources of their information, the vacancies they examine and the particular destinations they choose may all be used to define the geographical limits of the community."[46]

The sources for information on mobility vary. Researchers such as Lawton and Pooley paid attention to the movement of individuals as recorded by their journals,

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43 C.W.J. Withers and A. Watson, 'Step-wise migration and Highland migration to Glasgow, 1852-98', *Journal of Historical Geography*, **17**, pp.35-55.

44 D.E. Baines, 'The use of published census data in migration studies', in E.A. Wrigley, (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society*, Cambridge, 1972, pp.311-35.

45 M. Anderson, 'Urban migration in Victorian Britain problems of assimilation' in *Immigration et societe urbaine en Europe occidentale, XVIe-XXe siècle,* Paris, 1985, pp.82-91, quoted in. Feldman, 'Migration', p.193.

46 Dennis, *Industrial Cities*, p.250. See also R. J. Dennis and S. Daniels, 'Community' and the social geography of Victorian cities', *Urban History Yearbook, 1981*, Leicester, pp. 7-23.

and the records of family historians and genealogists.[47] Pritchard[48] and Dennis[49] concentrated on the movement of identifiable groups, using the detailed but decennial census data supplemented by rate books and electoral rolls and street directories, which are less informative but more frequent. Dennis used a sample of surnames from A to H to identify stayers, movers, and those "lost" from death, out-migration or error over a decade, tracing heads of households backwards from 1861 and forwards from 1851 and calculating distances from the centroids of enumeration districts. Householders were further analysed by age, life-cycle stage and occupational class. Inter alia he found that incomers were more likely than the locally-born to leave the town but that intra-urban moves by incomers were more likely to have been over shorter distances than the locally-born.

Dennis has summarised the work of a variety of researchers[50] for up to a dozen centres, including Liverpool, Manchester. Huddersfield, Preston. York, Leeds, Cardiff, Leicester, St Helens, Wigan, variously based on a range of sources including the census, rate books, electoral rolls and trade directories in order to track "disappearers" as well as "stayers" and "movers", over distance and forwards and/or backwards in time within urban areas. Dennis[51] remarked that while Pooley[52] demonstrated that researchers can track individuals from one listing in the census or sequence of rate books to another geographers should heed Anderson's warning that "snapshots" however frequent may have missed intermediate moves. All these studies operated under the handicap of the problem of tracing individuals who disappeared from local records without the aid of computerised records of death registers, family records and databases of individual names subsequently compiled by genealogical records such as ancestry.com and the work of the Mormon Church.

In most locations owner-occupiers accounted for less than 10 per cent of the population, and in poorer parts of towns the percentage fell virtually to zero, while individuals and families in rented accommodation were much more mobile in

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47 C G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18th century*, London, 1998, pp.28-31.
48 Pritchard, *Housing.*
49 R.J. Dennis, 'Inter-censal mobility in a Victorian city.' *Trans. IBG,* **n.s.2**, (1977), pp.349-63.
50 Dennis, *Industrial Cities*, pp.256-7.
51 R.J. Dennis, (ed.), 'The Victorian city', *Trans IBG*, **n.s.4,** 1979, p.126.
52 C.G. Pooley,' Residential mobility in the Victorian city', *Trans IBG*, **n.s.4, 2,** 1979, pp.261, 267-8.

Victorian times, either because they had fewer possessions to move, or because they lacked security of tenure, with an estimated 80 per cent of tenants in England subject to one week's notice to quit. Pooley [53] found that in Liverpool poorer families moved more frequently but over shorter distances than wealthier individuals, that young people moved more often than older, renters may have moved house on average once a year, while immigrants from nearby villages moved little once established in the city.

Gilbert and Southall [54] re-worked Anderson's sample from the 1851 census and concluded that higher social classes and occupational groups tended to move further than lower classes. Dennis [55] noted that renters were always more mobile than owner-occupiers and the Victorian poor moved often but generally over very short distances and rarely beyond the range of local shops, pubs and churches. Reviewing other studies Dennis [56] further noted that in Liverpool professionals were three times more likely to be stayers than the unskilled, the upper class in Huddersfield moved between enumeration districts but were less likely than other groups, especially the unskilled, to leave the area altogether, while in Cardiff labourers and building craftsmen were almost twice as persistent at the same address as members of the lower middle class.

Dennis assessed the extent of residential persistence and mobility in the formation of communities based on his own work in Huddersfield and the work of Lawton and Pooley in Liverpool, Daunton in Cardiff and Jackson in Wigan and St Helens.[57] The scale and scope of local movements raises the question of whether they are indicators of stability or disruption within communities, issues discussed by Anderson, who concluded that "enduring patterns of social relationships…. involving individuals of relatively homogenous ethnic and social backgrounds…. provide one of the major sources of neighbourhood and social stability."[58]

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53 Pooley, 'Residential mobility', *Trans. IBG,* v.4, 1979.
54 D. Gilbert and H. Southall, 'The urban labour market', *Cambridge Urban History,* v. 3, p.607.
55 Dennis, *Industrial Cities,* p.251.
56 Dennis, *Industrial cities,* p.258.
57 Dennis, *Industrial cities,* pp. 262, 264.
58 M. Anderson, "Indicators of population change and stability in nineteenth-century cities: some sceptical comments", in J.H. Johnson and C.G. Pooley (eds.), *The Structure of nineteenth-century Cities,* London, 1982, pp.283-4, 289.

Land ownership and property development.

Other themes developed in parallel. Dennis notes the effects of different forms of land ownership and of property holding on the development of cities such as Cardiff, Nottingham and Leeds.[59] In some centres such as Cardiff and Sheffield large landowners attempted to control the scale and pattern of development, while in others the ownership of potential building land was either fragmented or development land was sold off piecemeal by landowners into the hands of developers and then of smaller builders who carried out the actual building. Dyos explored the role of individual builders such as Edward Yates in the development of Camberwell.[60] Rodger examined the role of individual landowners and developers in the expansion of nineteenth-century Edinburgh[61] while Olsen[62] examined their roles in Sheffield and Primrose Hill, and Clarke has drawn attention to the impact of modern methods of building finance on the structure of the building trades.[63]

Most studies found that the development process was heavily concentrated in the hands of numerous small builders and developers. Dyos for example found that when development in Camberwell was at its height, between 1878 and 1880, a total of 5,670 houses were built by 416 builders, over half of whom built no more than six houses and nearly three quarters no more than 12 in a three year period.[64] The great majority were speculative builders and locally based. Development could not have taken place without the support of specialist sources of finance including land-owners as well as large numbers of relatively small-scale investors, local tradespeople, solicitors, widows and landlords, while the finished houses were sold primarily to small investors seeking a safe, local outlet for their savings, often supplemented by

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59 Dennis, *Industrial cities,* pp.151-4.

60 H.J. Dyos, 'The speculative builders and developers of Victorian London', in D. Cannadine and D. Reeder, (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past: essays in urban history by H.J. Dyos,* Cambridge, 1982, pp. 170-3.

61 R.G. Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century,* Cambridge, 2001.

62 D.J. Olsen, 'House upon house: estate development in London and Sheffield' in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff, (eds.) *The Victorian City: images and reality,* London, 1973, pp.333-57.

63 L. Clarke, *Building capitalism; Historical change and the labour process in the production of the built environment,* London, 1992.

64 Dyos, *Victorian suburb.* p.125.

borrowed money. Private mortgages were the norm. Banks and assurance companies were relatively unimportant, although small-scale building clubs and friendly societies had been active on a local scale and building societies played an increasing role in the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, first as terminating societies devoted to a single project and then increasingly in the form of permanent societies. Many began as freehold land societies established initially with the aim of helping individuals to acquire voting rights through the ownership of property but increasingly acted as developers, buying land and selling off plots to prospective owner-occupiers and would-be small landlords. Their activities have been reviewed by Cleary and more generally by Carter and Lewis.[65]

The emergence of working-class housing and of middle-class suburbs, many of them with distinctive housing types and amenities, constituted distinctive themes in the development of urban geography, encapsulated in the collections of essays on working-class housing edited by the economic historian Chapman[66] and on suburbia edited by the urban historian, Thompson.[67] Beresford's contribution to Chapman's work features the development of back-to-back housing, a cheap and widely condemned but persistent form of construction designed to take advantage of small scraps of building land behind the main roads and to extract the maximum amount of rentable living space per acre.[68]

Chapman's own essay on working-class housing in Nottingham, records the adverse effects of a shortage of available building land and the different experiences of frame-work knitters and lace makers and their housing. Thompson's study focuses mainly on the development of London suburbs, but Thompson himself notes the emergence of nineteenth-century suburbs, initially in London and other cities such as Manchester and Birmingham, and subsequently in smaller centres across the UK. He notes that "by mid-century it is likely that every place with more than 50,000 inhabitants thought of itself as possessing some suburbs." He also discusses the relative

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65 E.J. Cleary, *The building society movement,* London, 1965.
H. Carter and C.R. Lewis, *An Urban Geography of England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century,* London, 1990.

66 S.D. Chapman (ed.), *The history of working-class housing- a symposium,* Newton Abbott, 1971.

67 F.M.L. Thompson, *The rise of suburbia,* Leicester, 1982.

68 M.W. Beresford, 'The back-to-back house in Leeds, 1787-1937, in S.D. Chapman, (ed.) *Working-class housing,* pp.95-132.

contributions of housing supply and demand to the growth of suburbs, the development of bus services from 1830 onwards and the emergence of the Victorian concept of privacy and family life.[69] The ultimate ideal was the suburb of detached or semi-detached properties with front and rear gardens, although this does not appear to be a prerequisite of nineteenth-century suburbs.

Other studies explored the development of industrial, professional and commercial activities especially as recorded in the proliferation of trade directories published with increasing frequency and detail from the early nineteenth century onwards. The extent and scope of all these studies with a marked historical emphasis has been brought together in a number of publications, some with individual authors such as Dennis[70], others with individual contributors and general editors including Morris and Rodger[71] and Mills & Shuerer[72].

Transport and retailing.

A number of studies have focused on the impact of modern forms of transport on the evolution of towns and cities, including the intrusive and destructive effect of railway building in displacing the poorest inhabitants of already overcrowded tenement buildings as well as the liberating effects of horse-drawn and subsequently electric tramways; and suburban railway services adapted to the needs of working populations. Together they increased the viable extent of integrated cities and accelerated the movement of better-off citizens to newer and more congenial houses in often finely-differentiated emerging suburbs, where the amenities and the quality of housing were tailored to the needs and incomes of different social classes. The role of transport improvements, including the successive development of turnpikes, canals and railways and of trams and omnibuses in urban areas, in extending the distances over which people and goods could be moved and their effects on the size and scale of economic and social areas developed into a specialist sub-branch of nineteenth-century urban studies in its own right. Dennis has summarised the conclusions of a

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69 Thompson, *Suburbia*, pp.5-13.
70 Dennis, *Industrial Cities.*
71 R.J. Morris and R. Rodger, (eds.), *The Victorian City: a Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914*, Leicester, 1993.
72 D.R. Mills and K. Shuerer, (eds.), *Local communities in the Victorian census enumerators' books,* Oxford, 1996.

number of such studies.[73] Changes in the structure and scale of retailing have also been studied for example by Gareth Shaw, with special reference to Hull and other North of England towns, and to London's Oxford Street.[74]

Qualitative studies

As long ago as the 1970s writers such as Harvey and Foster criticised quantitative studies as lacking a coherent causative explanation for the associations and patterns they uncovered. Marxian explanations emphasise the role of capital as the main driving force in the evolution of social and economic patterns and especially the concentration of working-class housing into oppressive and overcrowded spaces lacking in amenities. Enthusiasm for the universal application of quantitative methods also waned and it became clear that standard tests of significance were often inappropriate to particular studies. Gould condemned the attempt to apply statistical methods as the geographical equivalent of a wild goose chase and Harvey concluded that theory failed to cope with the specific aspects of space and place.

Interest in the use of census material to search for models of urban development and specifically in Victorian cities also peaked. The annual count of classic studies using census material reached double figures in 1968, and reached their peak in 1981, when 34 studies were recorded, but a progressive decline then began.[75] Meanwhile the physical legacy of the nineteenth century progressively disappeared under the impact of modern urban development. In the past decade only a handful of studies have focused on the study of a specific nineteenth-century town, and Mills' recent study of the problems of providing sewerage amenities in nineteenth-century Lincoln is essentially a throw-back to the classic format.[76]

Interest also shifted from the Victorian and Edwardian periods to the inter-war and post-war periods. Contemporary topics included the impact of road transport, home

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73 Dennis, *Industrial Cities,* pp.110-40.

74 G. Shaw, 'Recent research on the commercial structure of nineteenth-century British cities,' in D. Denecke and G. Shaw, (eds.) *Urban Historical Geography: Recent progress in Britain and Germany,* Cambridge, 1988.

75 D.R. Mills and C. Pearce, *People and Places in the Victorian Census: a Review and Bibliography based on the manuscript Census Enumerators' Books, 1841-1911.*Cambridge, 1989.

76 D.R. Mills, *Effluence and Influence: Public Health, Sewers and Politics in Lincoln, 1848-50.* Lincoln, 2015

ownership, social progress, cities and culture, shopping and offices, slum clearance, urban planning and redevelopment, modern forms of housing, the progressive decline of manufacturing industry and the rise of more anonymous service industries. These and other issues have been discussed by Dennis.[77]

Modernity and post-modernity

The nineteenth century city has however taken its place as part but only a part of the broader body of urban geographical studies collectively focused on "Modernity", a term attributed originally to the nineteenth-century French man of letters Charles Baudelaire, referring to an ongoing process of creative destruction in which the old gives way to the new. (The concept of creative destruction has also been attributed to the twentieth-century economist Joseph Schumpeter). The concept can be extended to include the whole range of progress, technological, economic, social and political, that contributed to the emergence of the modern world, shaped by market forces backed by political power, in which the growth of towns and cities has played a central role. It has been linked with the processes of modernization and development and identified mainly with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, extending into the twentieth century. The term has been taken up and adapted by urban geographers and historians to cover the evolution of urban processes and forms over several centuries, and has taken its place in the titles of publications by Harvey and by Dennis.[78] Modernity remains an abiding theme in urban historical studies. Dennis has explored aspects of the subject including the relationship between the social structure and spatial structure of cities,[79] and the central position occupied by the growth of Victorian cities in the development of modernity and, in spite of the sometimes negative connotations of the word Victorian, concluded that Victorian cities were indeed modern and the characteristics of modernity were in full flow.[80]

The term Victorian itself covers a considerable period of time in which cities were in a state of rapid evolution. The literary critic Taylor argued the Victorian era can itself

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77 R.J. Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930.* Cambridge, 2008. pp. 115 ff.

78 D.W. Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity,* London, 2003: Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*.

79 R. J. Dennis, 'Historical geographies of urbanism', in B. Graham and C. Nash, (eds.), *Modern Historical Geographies,* Harlow, 2000, pp. 218-247.

80 Dennis, *Cities in Modernity.* p. 35

be divided into three stages, before the date of the Great Exhibition in 1851, followed by a middle period of quintessentially Victorian self-expression, followed by a drawn-out Victorian twilight.[81] Dennis noted that the historical geographer Ward also divided the Victorian era into three stages each marking a different stage in the evolution of capitalism and with its own distinctive spatial patterns on the ground.[82] Dennis also reviewed the views of social reformers such as Mearns, Godwin and William Booth, who assessed cities as the focus for a range of specific problems such as poverty, pollution, and disease and immorality, for which specific cures can be developed in the shape of parks, sanitation, education, moral guidance and slum clearance.[83]

Modernity has come to represent a much wider field of urban activities including the contribution of cultural aspects, literature and art as well as commercial and industrial, social and economic activities. Literature, art and culture are however mainly metropolitan phenomena, and social commentators increasingly embraced a national and metropolitan rather than a provincial or merely urban stage. Cities such as London and Paris, Los Angeles and Chicago increasingly presented a much more complex and dynamic pattern of activities than local towns and cities everywhere. The sheer volume and variety of source material inevitably made the task of writers such as Dennis, exploring the processes of modernity in London, New York and Toronto and Harvey in Paris much more detailed, but less representative of urban developments as a whole.

Time and process are essential features of the study of modernity, sometimes at the expense of space and patterns. The distinction between history and time on the one hand and geography and space on the other are as old as the two disciplines themselves and have attracted the comments of analysts as far distant as Hartshorne and Harvey. Historical geography in general necessarily involves aspects of both disciplines. If the preoccupation of urban studies with the processes at work has emphasised the time dimension accordingly, the contributions and role of geography and space cannot be excluded. Harvey himself emphasised the importance of his own

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81 D.J. Taylor, 'Thursday Review' *The Independent*, 4 Jan. 2001.
82 Dennis, *Cities in Modernity*, pp.31-2.
83 Dennis, *Cities*, pp.40-6.

early training in geography to his own synthesis of subjects incorporated in his study of Paris during the Second Empire.[84]

Harvey's study of Paris, based largely on his earlier work in *Consciousness and the Urban Experience*, is itself a tour de force, largely because of the way it synthesises the impact of drastic regime changes on an old and crumbling urban landscape and a complex and antiquated social structure, and illustrates Harvey's over-riding interpretation of the forces at work in a capitalist society. A sequence of events opened the way during the Second Empire for a deliberate policy of forced urban regeneration and redevelopment on an unprecedented scale, involving the ruthless clearance of congested old housing, wholesale shifts in population and industry, supported by the emergence of a specialised class of capitalist financiers, resulting in the increasing subordination of industry in general and traditional craft industries in particular to a system based on credit, outworking and piecework, where workers were increasingly controlled by a hierarchy of foremen, agents, intermediaries and subcontractors imposed and coordinated by merchants and finance capital. The forces at work and their effects have parallels in many other cities but the sheer scale and power of changes and the range and variety of information, from the novels of Zola, the illustrations of Daumier and the commentaries of Baudelaire to the proliferation of earlier academic studies and the wealth of statistical data from successive *Enquetes* and much else besides made Harvey's study unique in its scope.

Recent developments

If modernity is marked by processes of creative destruction and the mass expansion of cities post-modernity may be associated with a new emphasis on human and cultural values, care and conservation and a new emphasis on the particular impact of imperialism, capitalism and globalisation on the developing economies and post-colonial societies.[85] The search for models and evolutionary theories has diminished. The swing away from quantitative geography in favour of humanistic and cultural geography and ongoing concern with issues such as the plight of human beings trapped in ghettoes, favelas and old-fashioned slums has continued; Harvey has

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84 D.W. Harvey, *Consciousness and the Urban experience*, Oxford, 1985, p.xii

85 B Graham and C. Nash, *Modern Historical Geographies*, Harlow, 2000

maintained his interest in the freedom of urban populations to make and remake urban space.[86]

Some traditional themes such as the role of morphology, and the evolution of social areas have survived, with contributions on the former by Conzen and Whitehand and on the latter by Pooley, Lawton and Carter in a collection of essays first published in 1988.[87] The importance of the time dimension had already begun to reassert itself and interest in urban morphology was maintained with the ongoing work of the journal Urban Morphology, and a revived interest in the theories of von Thunen and Christaller. In recent years however studies in urban history have diversified away from the quantitative studies of spatial differentiation to include more emphasis on the significance of street improvements and traffic, of public places and public spaces, on activities such as retailing and on more subjective studies including the roles of urban reformers, and first application of regulations and organisation leading to building regulations, the provision of model dwellings and then social housing, and latterly to extensive programmes of suburban development, slum clearance and redevelopment, and the increasing emphasis on the construction of flats.

Urban theory as a whole has been paralleled by the emergence of new topics consistent with post-modern thinking from the 1980s onwards, covering the impact of globalisation, and a host of specific issues including the roles and functions of race and ethnicity, of feminist and ecological concerns, informal economies, the contribution of minorities, the impact of post-colonialism and post-structural thinking and the information that can be drawn from photography, architecture, culture, art and literature. Its scope was extended and accompanied by a new emphasis on cultural geography in which fixed ideas of class were replaced by emphasis on evolving identities of class, race and ethnicity, and of gender, illustrated by Walkowitz's study of gender and sexuality in late Victorian London.[88] Urban studies continue to evolve and new topics are certain to follow. The recent emergence of grass-roots political

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86 D.W. Harvey, 'The Right to the City', *New Left Review,* 53, 2008, pp.23-40

87 D. Denecke and G. Shaw (eds.) *Urban Historical Geography: Recent Progress in Britain and Germany,* Cambridge, 1988. See also J.W.R. Whitehand, *The Making of the Urban Landscape,* Oxford, 1992, pp.25-85, which examines in detail central core redevelopments in Northampton.

88 J.R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight; Narratives of Sexual Danger in Later Victorian London,* London, 1992,

movements in Europe and North America for example is likely to stimulate interest in the geographies of political polarisation.

Since the mid-1980s writers including Gunn[89] and Soja have argued that urban geography has moved into a post-modern phase in which the emphasis has switched from an historical to a spatial basis, a trend identified by Soja, who attempted to mark out a shift from the modern to the post-modern in geographical theories strongly linked to Marxist geography and critical social theory and exemplified by developments in Los Angeles.[90] The relative importance of the individual cases and events against the nomothetic or general conclusions has been widely debated.

Gunn identified a shift away from the study of process and the time dimension towards a fresh emphasis on distributions and relationships in space. Gunn himself quoted Foucault's claim in 1986 that the present epoch would be mainly concerned with space, simultaneity, juxtaposition and a network of connecting points.[91] The significance of spatial patterns has been reasserted along with causal relationships by Giddens and others. The map, embodied in GIS, has asserted itself alongside the computer as a valuable if not essential tool of geographical studies.

Gunn also noted that this in some ways represents a return to studies, notably by Dyos, Lawton, Pooley, Cannadine, Carter & Wheatley during the late 1970s and early 1980s, of socio-spatial segregation based on detailed research into patterns of residence, mobility and social interaction, which in turn built on community studies carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, and were all part of the context of urban evolution going back to Burgess and Park in which space was regarded as a neutral dimension in which class and social relationships were played out. [92] Morris and Rodger have also called for a swing away from cultural elements back towards the study of class, inequality and poverty.[93] Class and the role of property remain consistent themes in

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89 S. Gunn and R.J. Morris, *Identities in Space; Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850,* Aldershot, 2001.

90 E.W. Soja. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory,* London, 1989.

91 S. Gunn., 'The spatial turn; changing histories of space and place,' in S.Gunn and R.J.Morris. (eds.) *Identities in Space,* pp.1-14.

92 Gunn, 'The spatial turn' p.2.

93 R.J. Morris and R. Rodger, *The Victorian City: a Reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914,* London, 1993, pp.11-12.

Harvey's work. Gunn attributed a significant shift in urban studies to Harvey's analysis of the role of capital, credit and land speculation in changing the distribution of industry, the supply of housing, and the status and living standards of craft workers and women in Paris during the Second Empire.[94]

Urban geographers and planners meanwhile have become increasingly preoccupied with the special problems of urbanisation in the developing world, where the drift from the land to the cities combined with continuing increases in total populations has already given rise to mega-cities such as Delhi, Mumbai, Jakarta, Lagos, Sao Paulo and Mexico City, where the infrastructure and civic administration have been overwhelmed by the growth of population and traffic congestion, pollution and crime, an increasing proportion of the population lives in extreme poverty in shanty towns and makes a living in the informal sector.

Planning for the cities of the future has also now become a study in its own right ranging from the problems linked to climate change and rising sea levels to the need to create "smart cities" with low carbon footprints, efficient energy use, organised public transport, affordable housing, and viable communities capable of integrating an apparently unstoppable flow of incomers, including asylum-seekers and economic migrants from widely different cultures and backgrounds and administered by authorities capable of creating trust and solving the problems of inequality, social exclusion and crime.

Conclusion:

Urban geography has come a long way in the past century, and will continue to evolve. Inevitably geography in general and urban social and cultural geography have moved on since the flowering of nineteenth-century urban studies. In the past thirty years the world view has moved from the modern characterised by the sometimes destructive forces released by urbanisation and industrialisation into a post-modern era characterised by globalisation, the triumph of capitalism, a shift in the balance of power between the developed and developing world, the emergence of a multi-faceted culture increasingly dominated by a world of global communications in the form of

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[94] Harvey, *Consciousness*.

the internet. Inevitably change has been reflected in the march of geographical and specifically urban studies. Urban studies have become markedly varied, cosmopolitan and single-themed, as illustrated by, for example, the various essays contained in Gunn and Morris's work, published in 2001. The time-frame of most recent urban studies has been brought progressively forward into the twentieth century and increasingly to twenty-first century aspects of urban development, associated with town planning, urban renewal, public housing, gender studies, family structure and links with social welfare programmes. The balance has shifted from socio-economic studies towards broadly cultural themes, including crime, disease, gender, minorities, entertainment, urban politics and the environment. The search for universal laws comparable to those of the natural sciences has been more or less abandoned and the focus of most studies of place has become at best representative rather than universal.

It is however too early to say whether this marks a discontinuity in the nature of geography; certainly the emphasis on the effects of historical and evolutionary processes and the search for aspects of modernity has continued; and modernity remained the keynote of work centred on urban geography, such as Harvey's study of nineteenth-century Paris, published in 2003 and Dennis's review of contemporary studies published in 2008. The extent to which modernity has moved into a new late-modern phase or has been overtaken by a new concept of post-modernity is well beyond the scope of this study of nineteenth-century Northampton. The search for urban themes using nineteenth-century studies has certainly diminished, although it may not entirely have run its course.

Harvey's systematic study of Paris during the Second Empire covers in detail a period of barely 20 years but examines a series of questions from population growth, immigration, the supply and status of housing, the size and status of the labour force, the role of women in the work force, and the underlying economic and political forces at work, all of which are relevant to urban studies in general, and mid nineteenth-century cities in particular. Studies of smaller, less complex urban areas are necessarily simpler and less varied because of the fewer variables available to study and the relative scarcity of supplementary sources of information. Northampton in the nineteenth century cannot pretend to match Paris during the second empire, but Northampton and centres of similar size can provide opportunities for detailed micro-

studies on a scale that individual studies of larger cities cannot hope to match because of their sheer size. But all studies of individual cities are necessarily unique and illustrate different stages in the general development of modernity, the characteristics and intensity of which will vary from city to city, much as the geological record differs from place to place

With its emphasis on the structural development of the town, and the evolution of specialised new residential and industrial zones and various patterns on the ground that resulted, the study of nineteenth-century Northampton that follows is firmly rooted in the theories and methods of earlier urban geographies; but it explores the way in which the essential features of a Victorian boom town were grafted onto the stock of an ancient county town, shows the scale of the migratory flows at work and illustrates the varying social characteristics of the population and the correlation of housing standards, occupations and birthplaces. The study of builders and property owners shows the individually small scale of the elements at work in a largely unplanned nineteenth-century industrial town compared with a metropolis such as Paris. The communities of shoe-makers and populations of males and females, owner-occupiers, householders and lodgers, locals and incomers created diverse evolving patterns over time, and the relationships between the town and the surrounding catchment area and the cities and counties beyond it illustrate the forces at work in the growth of a nineteenth-century industrial town.

Chapter 2

Aims, Sources and Methods.

The main aim of this thesis is to assemble a detailed picture of the physical and socio-economic development of the medium-sized light industrial town of Northampton in the thirty years from 1841 to 1871, a period when the town roughly doubled in size and population, using data from the manuscript censuses, the comprehensive series of surviving rate-books and successive trade directories. The study will include the town's stock of residential and commercial properties, the physical expansion in the form of new streets and properties, the evolving structure of property ownership and the growth of its population, by natural increase and net immigration, the physical and human features involved, the distribution, origins and occupations of the local-born population and incomers from local villages and townships, from nearby and distant counties, from London, Ireland and Scotland, as well as the processes at work and the patterns that resulted.

Against a background of classic migration studies by Ravenstein, Redford and others, and of debates in urban historical geography about the relationship between shapes on the ground and shapes in society in nineteenth-century towns and cities, the study seeks to evaluate, elaborate and amend their findings in the context of Northampton, a town which has been the subject of research by social historians and economic geographers but has received little attention from historical geographers concerned with urban patterns and processes. The existence of a long and apparently almost complete series of rate books covering the whole town adds an extra dimension to the standard sources available. Three main themes are examined: the growth of population and the related increase in property, public, residential and commercial; the expansion of employment and especially of the dominant footwear industry to support the economic development of the town; and the influx of population, from the surrounding catchment area and from contiguous counties and from further afield. The study then extends to the relations between these themes, especially the changes in the extent and character of the housing stock, measured by the rateable values of old and new houses recorded in the rate books; the concentration of different trades, and especially of the footwear trades in the poorer streets and courts, the emergence

of a central business district and a commercial-cum-industrial sector close to the river, canal and railway; the substantial differences in the age and gender of the inhabitants in various parts of the town and the distinct differentiation of the local-born and immigrant populations from varying origins, measured by age, gender, type of employment, average rateable values per head and concentration in different parts of the town.

Primary sources.

No single source can provide a comprehensive picture of the economic and social background to nineteenth-century urban history, or to the role of property in marking significant stages in the growth and diversification of the urban scene. The principal sources available are the manuscript census pages and the published data for the four successive censuses from 1841 to 1871, and the poor-rate books for the parishes of All Saints, St. Sepulchre, St. Giles and St. Peter, and the improvement commissioners' rate books, which include the extra-parochial district of St. Andrew, supplemented by trade directories and local archive material. Additional sources include local newspapers and periodicals, auction catalogues detailing sales of land and property and such archive material that survived, detailing the activities of decision makers, including landowners, builders and businessmen.

The manuscript census data record the names, addresses, ages, family status, occupations and birthplaces of the occupiers of residential property. The rate books provide detailed information on the growth of the property stock, residential and commercial, and its rateable values and its owners over time. They identify the street locations, house numbers (from about 1860 onwards) and current rateable values of the properties, together with the names of the rate-payer, owner and the principal occupier of each residential and commercial property. Data from successive rate books can be matched to the manuscript censuses as well as providing information on the changes in occupiers and owners that took place over the intervals between the censuses. Trade directories list the principal suppliers of professional and commercial services, and contemporary maps show the extent and location of public, residential

and commercial buildings at various times. The role and value of these principal sources has been discussed by among others Carter and Lewis.[1]

Census data

Publication of the enumerators' books from the censuses from 1841 onwards opened up a rich vein of research, beginning with Lawton's pioneering study of Liverpool.[2] For his study of York in 1967 Armstrong used the enumerators' books to group and classify occupations by status, based in turn on the General Register Office classification of occupations. Drake's essay on the censuses from 1801 reviews the history and content of successive censuses, shortcomings in the recording of individual ages, the numbering of houses, and the deficiencies of the overseers of the poor, who carried out the fieldwork for the early censuses.[3] The contents of the manuscript census returns from 1841 onwards have been well documented by Higgs,[4] by Armstrong[5], by Mills and Schuerer and their contributors[6], and by contributors to the comprehensive work on nineteenth-century society edited by Wrigley.[7] Over a distance of 150 years the interpretation of the enumerators' books presents some problems, especially where precise district boundaries are hard to find, or street names have subsequently disappeared without trace. Individual houses are difficult to track before the widespread introduction of house numbers, and personal details may not be reliable where many if not most inhabitants were illiterate and the enumerators themselves were forced to take arbitrary decisions about heads of households and their relationships to other occupants. Higgs points out that the definition of a household ignores the importance of kinship and friendship within a community and the relationship of lodgers to heads of households could vary.

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1 H. Carter and C.R. Lewis, *An urban geography of England and Wales in the nineteenth century.* London, 1990, pp. 7-27.

2 R. Lawton, 'The population of Liverpool in the mid-nineteenth century' *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historical Society,* **107.** pp. 89-120.

3 M. Drake, 'The census, 1801-1891' in Wrigley, (ed.), *Nineteenth-century society,* pp.7-46.

4 E.S. Higgs, *Making sense of the census revisited,* London, 2005.

5 W.A. Armstrong, 'Interpretation of the census enumerators' books for Victorian towns', in H.J.Dyos, (ed.), *The Study of Urban History,* London, 1968.

6 D.R. Mills and K. Schurer, *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books,* Oxford, 1996.

7 E.A. Wrigley, (ed.), *Nineteenth-century Society,* Cambridge, 1972. Other commentaries on the census data in Wrigley's work include; M. Anderson, 'Standard tabulation procedures for the census enumerators' books, 1851-91'; W.A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation'; and D.E. Baines 'The use of published census data in migration studies.'

The 1841 census noted only whether individuals were born within the county or not, and ages were rounded up to the nearest multiple of five. Age profiles for later censuses also show small but definite peaks in the number of individuals who gave their ages as 30, 40 or 50, suggesting some were uncertain of their precise ages. Tillott's assessment of the sources of inaccuracy in the censuses of 1851 and 1861, based on the returns for Sheffield, covers errors of copying and illegibility, imprecise definitions of occupation especially among the labouring poor, and discrepancies between entries in the census and contemporary directories.[8] The directories confirmed 83 per cent of householders' occupations plus a further 7 per cent where the census appeared to be incomplete.

Tillott pointed out that it is not clear from census data whether individuals were employed, under-employed, unemployed or retired, or in the case of blank entries whether individuals were genuinely of no occupation. The extent to which instructions to enumerators that "the occupations of women who are regularly employed from home or at home in any but domestic duties to be distinctly recorded" were followed in practice is a source of uncertainty. The occupations of women and children are sometimes attributed to that of the head of household; the definition of "servant" is also open to doubt, although females were usually domestic servants and males more likely to be assistants in trade. The status of retired, unemployed individuals, annuitants and paupers may also require intelligent guesswork. Even birthplaces may not be consistently reported; Anderson's study of Preston found that 14 per cent of individuals recorded in successive censuses showed discrepancies between reported birthplaces.[9]

Distinctions between nuclear families, extended families, two or more families in multiple-occupation, and the status of visitors, boarders and lodgers cannot always be clearly inferred. Separate houses were to be distinguished by drawing a line across the first four columns of the page, but these may sometimes be omitted, especially where they coincide with the foot of a page. Heads of household may not be clear especially

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8 P.M. Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses' in Wrigley, (ed.) *Nineteenth-century society*, pp. 82-133.

9 M. Anderson, 'The study of family structure', in Wrigley (ed.) *Nineteenth-century society*, p.75.

if the actual head was absent on census night. Instructions to differentiate between masters and men may well be unreliable (a problem which is common in Northampton where most shoe-makers were effectively self-employed until well into the 1860s).

Judging by the corrections periodically inserted by supervisors a serious attempt was made to address the questions and interpret the answers meaningfully, but like everything else in the historical record there are no easy ways independently to verify the accuracy of the individual records. In some districts large numbers of overnight visitors, itinerant travellers and "tramps", and people occupying boats, caravans and non-residential property added to the complications. Nevertheless Higgs estimates that enumerators may have missed only about 2 per cent of the population in the UK.[10] In London and Manchester, census data were supplemented by house–to-house surveys carried out by local statistical societies but there is no record of any similar activity in Northampton.

The censuses make it possible to study the social and occupational status of the occupiers of property in considerable detail, but they provide no information on the ownership or values of property, or (until 1891) on the degree of overcrowding measured by the numbers of inhabitants per room. Inevitably almost all of the worst Victorian building has been demolished in the past 70 years, leaving analysts dependent on contemporary descriptions as well as surviving maps, plans and photographic records to give a picture of its physical features.

Rate books

Rate books (and Valuation Rolls in Scotland) where they survive give the best and most consistent proxy guide to the comparative quality of housing, by listing its rateable value, gross estimated rental and in most cases whether the streets were paved or not. All Northampton rate books[11] list completed properties, occupied and empty, the occupiers and owners of properties and their rateable values, the persons

[10] Higgs, *Making Sense*, pp. 69-70.

[11] The Northampton rate books, including those listed in the Statistical Appendix, are held in the Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall Park, Northampton..

liable for the rate payments, the amounts of rates collected and uncollected, usually in two instalments, and in some cases the reasons for the absence of payment. This could be because properties were empty, the occupants had left town, or were excused by the magistrates. Rate books also list the locations, rateable values, occupiers and owners of commercial properties including mixed-use properties, factories, "premises", offices, workshops and warehouses, yards, shops, hotels, public houses and beer houses and shops, bake-houses and slaughterhouses as well as stables, gardens, cowsheds and pigsties, together with open land. Each book also contains totals for the rateable values of all rated properties, residential, mixed-use and commercial, as well as amounts collected and uncollected for the period. The poor rate books also list the gross estimated rentals, although the improvement commissioners' books do not.

Carter and Lewis pointed out that rate books themselves have shortcomings as sources of information.[12] Complete runs across entire towns and continuous periods are rare. Records have in many cases been lost or are incomplete, limited to individual parishes or to short periods of time. Pritchard noted that the coverage of Leicester was incomplete after 1855.[13] The identification of property owners also presents some difficulties. In many cases Northampton rate books list owners only by surname and initial, rather than name and forename, which was the standard practice for occupiers. Apart from the occasional difficulties in identifying handwritten capital letters such as S, J and T this can cause problems in distinguishing between individuals with the same name and initial, although these can be reduced to manageable proportions by examining a sequence of rate books, where from time to time forenames are spelled out in full.

Daunton argued that any attempt to calculate actual rents from the gross estimated rentals from which rateable values were derived is prone to errors.[14] He also cast doubt whether comparisons of rateable values between parishes could always be relied on because of the risk of competitive under-valuations, although he did not provide evidence to support this claim, and sharp practice would have been more

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12 Carter and Lewis, *Urban Geography*, pp. 12-17.
13 R.M. Pritchard, *Housing and the social structure of the city*, Cambridge, 1976, p. 41.
14 Daunton, *House-ownership*, pp. 21-27.

difficult in places like Northampton where there were only four administrative districts for the collection of poor rates and only two for the collection of improvement rates, the level of local knowledge of actual rents and rates would have been high, and assessments were certainly open to appeal, allowing anomalies to be ironed out over time. Daunton also claimed valuations were not often revised, although this is also not entirely borne out in Northampton where minor revisions are frequent and periodic wider revisions evident.[15] He observed that the rateable value was derived from the rent of the house, by allowing a standard deduction for repairs and other outgoings, and that "rateable value may be converted very approximately into capital value by multiplying the figure by the number of years' purchase plus one."[16]

Comparisons from town to town can be complicated by a variety of factors including the availability of land and the cost of building, and the balance of supply and demand for housing, and also the poundage of the rates levied, although this did not prevent Field from making direct comparisons between the rateable values of property in Southampton and Portsmouth.[17] Robson suggested that the rateable values for 1850 in his study of Sunderland may not be comparable between the three parishes. Nevertheless he noted that the 1836 Parochial Assessment Act was passed "to attempt to secure some degree of uniformity and made the annual value the legal basis for assessment."[18] He also used Sunderland rateable values from rate books for 1850, 1892 and 1963 as proxies for the social "class" of their occupiers.

Changes in ownership may not have been recorded promptly where the occupiers were responsible for the payment of rates. Green pointed out that rate books may also not distinguish between owners and their agents, and may well miss out changes of ownership by property owners who bought and sold properties frequently.[19] Linking owners to their home addresses and occupations and to census material including their

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15 Daunton., *House and Home,* p. 22.
16 Daunton, *House and Home,* p. 108.
17 J. Field, 'Portsmouth's Middle Class, 1800-75', in R.J. Morris, (ed.), *Class, power and structure in British nineteenth-century towns,* Leicester, 1986, p. 83.
18 B.T. Robson, *Urban analysis: a study of city structure,* Cambridge, 1969, p. 106.
19 G. Green, 'Title deeds: a key to local housing markets', *Urban History Yearbook,* 1980, pp. 88-91.

birthplaces also presents particular problems because in England and Wales (unlike Scotland) the addresses and occupations of owners were not normally recorded. Daunton claimed to have successfully cross-referenced 1,005 out of 1,291 owner-occupiers in Cardiff in 1884 with the help of street directories, but success rates for landlords will inevitably be less to the extent that many houses will have been owned by absentee landlords and petty landlords who are less likely to feature in trade directories.[20] Green claimed that "Daunton's success rate in locating the bulk of the smaller, non-resident owners was low, making an accurate analysis of their social composition impossible."[21] Daunton himself found that 13 per cent of recorded owners had to be excluded from his analysis because of uncertainty over the identity of some names, such as D. Jones.[22]

Holmes in a pioneering article devoted almost entirely to the use of rate books for Ramsgate eliminated about 10 per cent of the housing stock because properties were empty, or no owners were listed, or were identified only by a surname, and claimed that similar studies would be progressively more difficult in larger towns with less differentiation of surnames, and perhaps impossible in Scotland or Wales.[23] But these caveats notwithstanding many analysts have used the rate books as primary or secondary sources to establish levels of owner-occupation, the relative importance of locally-resident and absentee landlords, the structure of ownership, and the persistence rates of owners and of occupiers, and where possible to establish the occupations of owners by cross-referencing names to census material and trade directories. Some errors are inevitable in individual cases, but they should not over-turn the general conclusions. In Northampton around 60 per cent of owners and 80 per cent of large owners can be traced to the census data with a reasonable degree of probability by weeding out individuals who are unlikely by reason of their age, occupation and social status to have been property owners in their own right.

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20 M.J. Daunton, 'House ownership from rate books', *Urban History Yearbook,* 1976, p. 24.
21 Green, *Title deeds.* p. 89.
22 Daunton, 'House ownership', p. 24.
23 R.S. Holmes, 'ownership and migration from a study of rate books', *Trans. IBG,* **n.s.4, 2**, 1979, pp. 242-51.

Similar concerns may apply to the occupiers listed in rate books. Pooley & Turnbull [24] claimed that identification of occupants of property may not be reliable where the owner actually paid the rates: the occupancy record might therefore be neglected or revised less carefully, although by inference the more important information recording the rate payer, on the basis of which real money changed hands, might always be expected to be revised with great care and attention. Even where the intervals between successive rate books are short however they will not have been able to record all intervening changes in the occupiers at a time when most properties were let on a weekly tenancy and tenants could have moved in and out again in the interval between successive rate books. Attempts to calculate tenancy turnover rates will therefore inevitably tend to understate the absolute number of changes at individual properties over time, although relative figures for larger groupings of property by street and district and over longer periods of time should still be meaningful. Rate books have little to say directly about the relationship between landlords and tenants. But close comparisons of changes in occupiers and in owners suggests a change in ownership sometimes led to an increased turnover in tenancies. Certainly most studies of individual towns and cities that have used rate-books as primary sources have used them either as partial sources or sources for simple comparisons comparing different dates e.g. Robson's study of Sunderland, which compared 1850, 1892 and 1963.[25]

Full coverage over a sizeable complete town and significant periods of time are not common. Where they exist however they provide far more comprehensive data on changes in the property scene than any other single widely available nineteenth-century source, from directories and poll books to diaries and family histories. They offer a unique record of the physical growth of towns and cities over time and space, and the spurts and stops in the process. They record changes in ownership, occupancy and rateable values that were the basis of taxation, an important ongoing social and economic function. Rateable values can be used to measure variations in the quality of housing from street to street and over periods of time, and to feature the range of values within a single street, in the process pointing up the contrast between the

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[24] C.G. Pooley and J. Turnbull, *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century*, London, 1998. p. 26.

[25] B.T. Robson, *Urban analysis*, pp.106-15.

varied properties common in older pre-industrial streets and the more uniform values typical of single-class streets built during the "industrial" stage of the town's evolution. Changing values and the sequence of occupiers provide a record of the rise or fall of individual properties and streets over time and chart the "filtering" of occupiers through a street and district as its age and status changes.

Rate books also allow the possibility of studying not just persistence rates but also the mobility patterns of intra-urban migration, including the first appearance of householders in the (Northampton) rate books and their subsequent appearances in different places within the town. Precise and complete analyses will not however always be possible, not least because incomers may have spent some time initially as lodgers, or as dependent children within their parental families, others may have left the town for a period of time before returning, and those who finally disappear could as easily have died as left the town.

Rate books by themselves cannot identify the size of individual properties or the number of inhabitants or separate households they contained, but it is unlikely they were any less accurate than the equivalent census data. They also provide a guide through rateable values to the quality and value of individual properties, to the financial as well as the physical scale of construction activity as a whole, and on the part of individual developers, builders and ultimately of the owners. They are also the best and most consistent measure of the link between rateable values, rents, and the status and living standards of the occupiers of property. Most rate books listed both rateable values and gross estimated rentals, although the precise relationship between the two varies and cannot simply be explained. Foster used rateable values derived from parliamentary returns for Northampton and Oldham[26] as sources for estimating average rents, and claimed that for Oldham at least rateable values corresponded closely to gross rental value and Schedule "A" property tax estimates of rack rents.[27] Olsen used information on gross estimated rentals in Sheffield rate books to claim that by 1887 68 per cent of the 65,000 houses in the borough had weekly rents of 3s 10d and less, rising to 73 per cent in Brightside Bierlow.[28] Carter and Lewis quote a 1874

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26 PP 1852 XLV (2); PP 1860 LV (322).
27 Foster, *Class Struggle.* pp. 257, 335.
28 D.J. Olsen, quoted in J. H. Johnson and C. G. Pooley, (eds.), *The Structure of 19th century Cities,*

report to the local government board on the sanitary condition of the borough of Dudley, claiming that "as a rule the social status and wealth or poverty of the inhabitants of any district may be roughly estimated by the rental of the dwellings they occupy" – the writer Dr Ballard then went on to use rateable values to assess the status of districts in the town. Arguably rateable values are as good indicators of social class and status of the inhabitants as are occupational categories derived from census material, which are incapable of distinguishing between the economic status of clerks and artisans, and different kinds of craftsmen.[29]

Comparative use of rate book material.

Dennis[30] has noted a number of studies that have identified the structure of property ownership including Daunton on Cardiff [31] and Springett on Huddersfield [32] using rate books. Rate books and valuation rolls have been used in a variety of studies, some static, some evolving, from Holmes' study of Ramsgate[33] to Lewis's study of the structure of Cardiff around 1850,[34] in which he used gross rateable values for 1846 and 1874-6 as the setting for a review of the socio-economic status of household heads derived from the census; to much more extensive studies such as Rodger's work on large parts of Edinburgh.[35] Gordon used rateable values as the primary method of defining urban social structure in Edinburgh.[36] Daunton used rate books for Cardiff in 1884, 1914 and 1934 to calculate changes in levels of owner-occupation and the structure of house ownership. He also analysed the structure of property ownership in Birmingham, Gateshead, Middlesbrough, Sunderland, Blackburn and Halifax in the late nineteenth century, in this case by value rather than by number of properties.[37] Morgan and Daunton used valuation lists/rate books to analyse holdings

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London, 1982, p.89.

29 Carter and Lewis, *Urban Geography,* pp.13-14.

30 Dennis, *English Industrial Cities,* pp.168-9.

31 Daunton, *Aspects of social and economic structure; House Ownership.*

32 Springett, *Landowners and Urban development*.

33 Holmes, *Ownership.*

34 C. Roy Lewis, 'A stage in the development of the industrial town: a case study of Cardiff', 1845-75' *Trans. IBG*, **n.s.4, 2** (1979) 129-52.

35 R. Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century,* Cambridge, 2001.

36 G. Gordon, 'The status areas of early to mid-Victorian Edinburgh', *Trans. IBG*, **ns.4**, (1979), pp. 168-91.

37 Daunton, *House and Home,* pp.108-116.

by broad category (individuals, trusts, factors, companies etc.) as well as by average size of holding by number and value, using a standard multiple of recorded annual rent rolls.[38]

Rodger's analysis of nineteenth-century Edinburgh[39] and Pritchard's work on Leicester[40] are probably the closest existing studies in terms of methodology to this study of Northampton, but the sources and methods differ in degree. Rodger's work enjoys the benefit of data from valuation rolls that are more uniform and detailed (usually including the occupations of owners) than those of English towns and cities, although comparisons are complicated by the fact that the basic unit of Scottish property was the tenement containing multiple housing units. His study analyses in detail the development of the large, compact property empires of James Steel and the Edinburgh Cooperative Building Company, and the rentals, occupation class of tenants and the relative changes in vacancy rates and persistency of tenancies. But Edinburgh was already too big to allow a detailed study of the entire city. His study is also only peripherally concerned with changing ownership of property.

Pritchard's study of Leicester covered the entire city but relied on a mixture of sources including rate books that are less complete than those of Northampton (the last complete set dates to 1855 and later series cover only 40 per cent of the city). Pritchard then used rateable values alongside social class of householders and electoral rolls to identify social areas to analyse flows and patterns of mobility. Holmes established that out of 2,126 houses listed in the rate book of Ramsgate for May 1851, 76 were empty and in ten cases the occupiers had absconded; out of 2,040 occupied houses, 152 had no recorded owner, and in 36 cases properties were excluded from his sample because no first name was given for the owner.[41] A total of 650 owners held the remaining 1,918 properties in May 1851, of whom 347 had only one house, over half the properties were owned by small landlords with five or fewer properties, and only 30 owners owned ten or more properties, accounting for 29.8 per cent of the total. The top 30 owners identified from the census books included 17

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38 N. Morgan and M. J. Daunton, 'Landlords in Glasgow: a study of 1900'. *Business History,* **25, (**1983), 265-86.
39 Rodger, *Edinburgh*.
40 Pritchard, *Housing.*
41 Holmes, *Ownership,* p.244-5.

tradesmen, of whom six were builders or carpenters, seven of various independent means, four absentee (non-residents) and two trustees. Holmes also compared rate books for May 1851 and May 1853 to establish stayers (1,027), those who had disappeared from the records (294, of whom 62 were found to have died), and changes (719). The changes included movers (173), re-occupation by owners (60) and new occupiers not resident in Ramsgate at the earlier date (496), the occupied housing total having risen by 81, of which 79 were newly built.

Daunton's study of Cardiff used rate books for 1884, the one year for which they survive for the whole town, to classify houses within four valuation bands associated with a dominant class of tenant and also to analyse the ownership structure of eight districts in the town.[42] C. Roy Lewis combined rateable values for 1846 and 1874-5 with data from the 1851 and 1871 censuses to build up a pattern of expansion and differentiation in Cardiff, to classify streets and band them within sextiles for mapping purposes, and compare them with the social class of household heads and the distribution of servants and lodgers, derived from the censuses of 1851 and 1871.[43] Lewis also used rate books to identify the central business district and adjacent high status housing in Newport, Gwent in 1880.[44]

Carter and Wheatley used rate books for 1850-51 and 1868 alongside data from the census on socio-economic classes of household heads to establish social areas and evidence of increasing segregation and "filtering down" of the status of several streets within Aberystwyth.[45] Fox, using valuation rolls for 1856 in conjunction with local maps, identified 36 districts in mid nineteenth-century Stirling and assigned an age, population density and rateable value to houses, shops and mixed properties as well as owner-occupied properties in each district, which he then compared with an early study based on the valuation rolls for 1798 and a subsequent study for 1881.[46] He was able to identify the occupations of householders from the valuation rolls but made no

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42 Daunton, 'House ownership' p.108.

43 C. Roy Lewis, 'A stage in the development of the industrial town: a case study of Cardiff, 1845-75', in *Trans. IBG,* **n.s.4, 2**, (1979), pp. 136, 145.

44 C. Roy Lewis, 'Location patterns of high-status housing in an emerging industrial town, Newport, Gwent, 1850-80', in *Cambria*, **7**, 1980, pp.13-41.

45 S. Carter and S. Wheatley, 'Fixation lines and fringe belts, land uses and social areas: nineteenth-century change in the small town' *Trans. IBG,* **n.s.4,** 1979, pp. 214-38.

46 R.C. Fox, 'The urban structure of Stirling', *Trans. IBG,* **n.s.4,** 1979, pp. 152-67.

attempt to analyse ownership patterns and characteristics. Gordon used valuation rolls to produce dot maps showing the distribution of five grades of housing in Edinburgh in the hope of finding evidence of Burgess-style patterns.[47]

Trade Directories.

Trade directories provide a valuable but often inconsistent snapshot of life in British cities between the censuses. Their value as sources has been discussed in Gareth Shaw's monograph.[48] In the earlier part of the nineteenth century most directories were primarily classified directories listing the local gentry and clergy and the principal professionals and tradesmen, and no real effort was made to distinguish residences from places of business. In the later part of the nineteenth century directories increasingly purported to be comprehensive and list individual residents by house and street, but coverage was usually restricted to the main commercial streets, and by their very nature classified sections were selective, so that traders who were not willing to pay for their entries may well have been excluded regardless of their importance.

Northampton is relatively well endowed with trade directories. Editions were published by Pigot in 1830 and 1841, Kelly in 1847 and 1854, Whelan in 1848, Slater in 1850 and 1862, Melville in 1861 and the Post Office in 1869. These are all strictly trade directories, rather than street directories. Their references to the town are universally flattering. Coverage varies but in the earlier years they record around 1,500 entries, rising over time to around 2,500 entries, equal to 10-15 per cent of the total adult population,. Even allowing for some duplication of trades this is the equivalent of up to 25 per cent of all householders. Some list the gentry and tradesmen separately, some list tradesmen alphabetically others break them down into categories, but none record the occupants of streets and houses systematically.

They do however provide an additional source of information on the numbers of active tradesmen and their commercial addresses, while a comparison of successive

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47 G. Gordon, 'The status areas of early to mid-Victorian Edinburgh', *Trans. IBG*, **n.s.4,** 1979**,** pp. 168-91.

48 G. Shaw, 'British Directories as Sources in Historical Geography,' *Historical Geography Research Series,* **8,** *Trans. IBG, Series* **8,** 1983, p.34.

directories provides a rough guide to the survivability of their businesses. Directories also record the residences of the wealthier private individuals, who may well be prominent property owners. Builders and carpenters are sometimes classified together, although carpenters who are also builders are usually distinguished by asterisks. Close inspection shows that there is a significant amount of duplication, with individuals and their premises listed under for example shopkeepers, beer retailers and sometimes also as butchers or bakers, as both tailors and drapers, and in a few cases quite unlikely trades appear to have been carried on under the same roof.

Supplementary sources

Censuses offer no information on the number of separate rooms in a dwelling until 1891. For earlier periods ground plans can provide some guidance on the amount of space available in a house in relation to the number of occupants, but their availability is at best patchy and in Northampton virtually non-existent. Town plans of Northampton of varying quality exist from the 1830s onwards, of which by far the best was engraved and published on a scale of 1:264 by William Law, a local surveyor, in 1847 and reissued in a facsimile edition with notes by a local historian, Victor Hatley, in 1972. The Ordnance Survey turned its attention to Northampton relatively late and the first edition of the County Series Survey on a scale of 1:2,500 did not appear for the town until 1883-84.[49]

For Northampton itself contemporary photographs are rare. The local government room in the Northampton Borough Library in Abington Street has a collection of photographs of town streets, taken at various times between 1880 and 1960. Some of the buildings in the main streets have been redeveloped over the past 100 years, and the large areas of residential housing in the older streets surrounding the central core, built before 1870, were all demolished in a wholesale clearance programme in the early 1970s. Photographs taken mainly at the time that properties were earmarked for clearance often include modern features, especially lamp posts and parked cars, but they offer the best guidance still available to illustrate the type and quality of housing to match the information available from the census books and rate books.

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[49] R. Oliver, *Ordnance Survey Maps: a concise guide for historians.* London, 1993. p. 105.

Supplementary sources include the two local newspapers, the Herald (Tory) and the Mercury (Whig), published weekly throughout the chosen period, as well as records of property sales and auctions covering the main stages of development of the new residential suburbs on the north and east sides of town. Chapman's book on working-class housing suggests a range of other sources of supplementary information on the subject.[50] Memoirs, letters and business records, so valuable in many studies, are vanishingly rare in Northampton.

Methods.

The census alone provides unrivalled data on the demographics, the occupational status and birthplaces of individuals and families and their location at a fixed point in time. Rate books provide details on properties and owners, while censuses and rate books both record heads of households. But linking the two sources provides an extra dimension covering events at regular intervals between the censuses and would permit the tracing of individuals and families who stay and those who move addresses over the intervening periods. It also becomes possible to assign to individuals a position on the socio-economic scale based on the rateable value of the properties they occupy.

Long sequences of rate books make it practical to map the building cycles and the spatial development of Northampton in great detail and at frequent intervals over a long period of time, certainly from 1843/4 to 1871 and in most cases from even earlier dates. The rate books also enable researchers to assign contemporary values to individual houses, and to aggregate them into streets, courts and districts; to illustrate the mean rateable values of property in each street and the range of values from highest to lowest around the mean (as a method of distinguishing between older more mixed streets and newer more standardised developments); to trace the construction of properties by number and value in each street or court, to follow changes in individual streets from the start of construction to maturity, and to identify and locate appreciating and depreciating valuations over time. A sequence of rate books also make it possible to record in detail the course of local building cycles over a period of

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50 S.G.Chapman (ed.), *The History of Working-class Housing,* Newton Abbott, 1971, p. 9.

three decades, to chart the spatial expansion and differentiation of the town at frequent intervals, and to identify the precise locations where new building was taking place, the quality of the housing being developed, and the names of the first recorded owners.

Records of the owners at the time each new rate book was compiled provide detailed information on the structure of ownership, the number of properties and the number of owners, the average size of holdings and the incidence of large holdings, in terms of the number of properties and of aggregate rateable values, the significance of institutions such as banks, insurance companies, building clubs and charities, and the role of executors and agents in managing portfolios. It is also possible to identify the addresses of many of the larger owners and cross-reference them to entries in the directories showing their primary activities, whether they were builders, general tradesmen or professionals, to plot the rise and fall of individual property portfolios, and map the larger holdings to discover how far they were concentrated in blocks (as Daunton found in Birmingham)[51], and how far individual owners specialised in older and poorer slum properties or newer and more valuable properties.

Census records allow researchers to calculate changes in the total number of inhabitants, by street and per house, their age and gender profiles, occupations and birthplaces, at ten-year intervals and tie them to the information derived from the rate books, and using the rateable values to assign average rateable values per head, and aggregate them into meaningful figures for various occupations and birthplaces. Streets with rising or falling populations over time, streets with a static character and dynamic streets in a process of social change can also be identified.

Information in the census on the householders and their families, relatives and lodgers makes it possible to analyse the occupiers of property, their ages, and gender balance, their occupations and birthplaces and relate these to the average rateable value of the properties they occupy. If it is accepted that there is a close relationship between the quality of housing and the well-being of its occupiers the relative standards enjoyed by particular occupational groups, including boot and shoemakers, specialist boot and

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51 Daunton, *House and Home,* p. 109.

shoe workers such as clickers and closers, as well as curriers, and other craftsmen and labourers can be calculated.

Analysis of the occupiers of property in successive rate books can show persistence rates in different parts of the town at varying times, and by cross-referencing them to the fixed points of the census to cast light on the changes in the social and occupational structure of the population of individual streets over time, including age and family structures, occupations and birthplaces. The relative conditions of broad groups of individuals and families born in the town or born elsewhere, in nearby villages, nearby towns and from further afield can also be calculated. Differences in the concentration (by street), occupation and socio-economic status of local born individuals relative to incomers to the town can also be determined and mapped.

Rate books also contain information on the numbers, distribution and value of commercial properties. In the great majority of cases the uses to which they are put are not revealed, and properties are merely described as workshops, warehouses, yards, shops, offices or simply as premises, or as houses and warehouse or house and premises. In many cases however the owners and occupiers can periodically be identified from trade directories and census records.

The town itself can be sub-divided into around 330 individual streets and courts by the end of the period under study, in order to identify and record the numbers of houses, occupied and empty, as well as the range of rateable values and the average rateable values for the streets at frequent intervals, approximately once a year. The sequence of rate books allows the researcher to calculate changes in property valuations by house and street, and identify those streets and districts that were appreciating and depreciating over time. While the general trend may be upwards, there are numerous examples of properties and whole streets whose rateable values fell, making it possible to test the hypothesis of Cairncross and others that properties began to depreciate after 20-30 years, and to identify the creation of “sink” areas comparable to Dyos’ study of Sultan Street.

Maps and tables.

The resulting patterns and relationships can be summarised in tabular form and illustrated by maps. Statistical data for individual streets, parishes and larger geographical areas have been condensed into a number of comprehensive tables, and also used to create approximately 80 maps showing the expansion of the town, the distribution of significant socio-economic features and the location of features such as warehouses, workshops and shops. Maps are also used to illustrate the important features of the towns and villages, counties and countries from which the population of Northampton was drawn and the changes over time. The map has been the standard tool of geographers since the subject first emerged from the observations of travellers, and maps are particularly suited to the representation of the distribution of specific data and the different levels of intensity involved. This study makes use of choropleth maps recording data for individual streets within Northampton and parishes within the catchment area of the town. Extensive use is also made of dot maps, showing the distribution of individuals, including boarders and lodgers, domestic servants and individuals born in specific locations, including local villages and towns, more distant towns with shoe-making traditions such as Stafford, and of Irish-born residents.

The standard base map shows 336 streets and courts, mainly within the boundaries of the borough at the end of 1871, together with a few streets located on or just across the boundary of the village of Kingsthorpe on the northern edge of the expanding town. The base map itself has been compiled from a copy of the first edition of the Ordnance Survey of Northampton produced in 1885. Streets and public buildings completed after 1871 have been established from the rate books and omitted from the base map. In a small number of cases it has not been possible to ascertain the precise location and boundaries of small units such as Butcher's Yard and Johnson's Buildings, which are not named on earlier maps, and still existed in 1871, but had been demolished by 1885. Their location and extent has been inferred from the sequence of listings in successive rate books and censuses.

Separate data for a handful of streets which extended across a parish boundary have been amalgamated, while some streets where the rate books show constituent parts had different characters have been treated as separate streets. The precise boundaries

between streets have been identified as closely as possible by a careful examination of the outlines of individual buildings on the O.S. map. In some case the boundaries between individual streets and court dwellings within the street area have been inferred in the absence of precise demarcation lines on the O.S. map. Housing has been enclosed in a large number of separate polygons. Some streets and courts are confined to a single polygon, others such as the main streets of the commercial core interrupted by side streets have been allocated several separate polygons, identified for data mapping by a single code. Commercial space and public buildings have been separately identified, together with the larger gardens and vacant lots within the built - up area. Where data refers specifically to 1851 the standard base map has been used and streets where building had not begun in 1851 have been identified as such.

The base map has also been used where appropriate for dot distribution maps, although the individual dots have been allocated randomly by computer within the polygons assigned to individual streets and courts. A separate somewhat simplified base map has been used to record the location of new buildings erected in successive years from 1842/3 to 1871 inclusive, and no attempt has been made to locate new buildings precisely within the individual streets.

Maps showing data for individual parishes in the catchment area around Northampton have been derived from historical sources, most of which in turn appear to be based on maps in Phillimore's Atlas.[52] The boundaries of the catchment area have been determined mainly by the county boundaries to the west and north. On the south the catchment area has been extended into adjacent parts of north Buckinghamshire as far as the river Ouse and into a small part of western Bedfordshire where the censuses show strong links with Northampton. On the north-eastern side the boundary has been drawn roughly east-west from Corby to Oundle, using the same criteria. The result is a roughly circular catchment area with a radius of approximately 15 miles around Northampton itself. Within the catchment area itself a distinction has been drawn between towns and villages with a population of at least 1,200 in either 1851 or 1871, and a separate distinction has in some cases been made between towns with a shoe-

[52] C. R. Humphery-Smith, *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers, 3rd edition*, Cambridge, 2003.

working tradition of their own, defined as at least 10 per cent of the total population employed in footwear trades on either of the two selected dates, based on information derived initially from Hatley and Rajczonek's definitive study, updated to include data for 1871.[53]

Beyond the catchment area the country has been divided into eight contiguous counties and the other more distant counties of England, plus Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Within the contiguous counties a ring of country towns such as Market Harborough, Bedford, Newport Pagnell, Stony Stratford, Buckingham, Banbury and Rugby lie conveniently just outside the catchment area. Further afield cities such as Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol and London have been separately identified.

Caveats

The degree of detail and the concept of scale are critical in any study of urban areas. If spatial units selected are too small the differences caused by random variations in the number of inhabitants in individual houses, in family sizes, chance differences in occupations and places of birth, and in the numbers of empty properties will be magnified and the overall impressions blurred. If the units selected are too large a false impression of uniformity can be created and essential features and differences may be lost. In many ways the single street, row, terrace or court is the best unit on offer, allowing differences between adjacent main streets and side streets, back streets and off-street courts to be recorded.

Even so some detail may be lost especially in streets with say half a dozen or fewer houses, and in older streets where building was not uniform or simultaneous, big and small lots, some valuable others quite modest, offering varying standards of accommodation may have existed side-by-side, and averages for the street may conceal more than they reveal. Mapping the precise location of new housing at specific moments of time presents some difficulties where the development of new streets took place piecemeal over a period, for example on the New Town estate

[53] V. A. Hatley and J. Rajczonek, *Shoemakers in Northamptonshire, 1762-1911: A statistical survey*, Northampton, 1971.

where the only surviving guide to the location of the first new housing is the sequence in which successive streets were listed in the rate books. Mapping useful space as distinct from total space may also present problems as the ratio of space occupied by residential buildings to space occupied by gardens, yards and workshops may vary considerably between main streets and back streets and courts. Differences between residential and commercial space may also be difficult to distinguish. Where commercial and residential uses coexisted it may no longer be possible to divide accurately the rateable values of mixed-use properties described as “house and warehouse”, “house and workshop” or “house and premises”, and no attempt to do so precisely has been made in this study.

Maps often exaggerate the public space occupied by roadways and pavements relative to the private space available for residents. It is also difficult if not impossible today to distinguish between single-level or basic two-storey and three-storey residential housing, and between mixed commercial and residential premises in the main streets, where business uses would have been usual on the ground floor, first floors may have been devoted to storage and residential accommodation may have extended to further upper floors, and records of such differences no longer exist.

The total numbers of houses and of inhabitants recorded at various dates also differ slightly according to the sources and the uses to which the data are put. The census dates record the number of separate houses identified on the night of the census, and these sources have been used to calculate the numbers of inhabitants per house on successive censuses. The numbers of houses recorded in the rate books will differ slightly because individual rate books record totals as they changed over the currency of each book. Unlike the censuses the time frame covered by a rate book can be spread over several months and can be as long as a year and varies slightly between the parishes of All Saints and St Peter on the one hand and the parishes of St Giles and St Sepulchre and the extra-parochial districts on the other, which were compiled separately.

There are also occasional small differences between the treatment of individual properties including double houses recorded in the rate books treated as single properties in the census and vice versa, as well as a few properties, usually on corner

sites, recorded as in one street in the census and another in the rate books. Rateable values for 1871 have been based on figures for December 1871 except where directly related to census data, where April 1871 has been used. Two new streets had been started and many new houses built in the interval. A handful of houses, mainly farms and cottages recorded in outlying parts of the parishes in the census have been omitted altogether because they did not form part of the urban area or of any specific street. Housing totals based on the rate books, including empty properties, have been used to calculate average rateable values by street but the town also included some properties such as the houses in the Militia Stores, some inhabited but unrated caravans in Spring Lane and the houses located in the parish of Kingsthorpe which were continuous parts of the urban expansion, but were not liable for the payment of poor rates or improvement rates, and for which average rateable values cannot therefore be calculated. Empty properties have been excluded from calculations of occupancy levels per house and per street and of rateable values per head.

Total populations have been taken direct from the censuses where national comparisons and inter-censal changes are recorded. The totals of residential inhabitants, used to calculate average rateable values per head and the proportions of the population in various employments and born in various places, differ from the numbers recorded in the census after the exclusion of the inmates of various institutions, including the Borough and County gaols, the workhouse, the infirmary and lunatic asylum, the barracks and the convent as well as the growing number of boarders staying in various schools in the town and the occupants of boats on the canal. The differences between the town population according to the census and the residential population thus defined ranged from between 2 and 3 per cent in early years up to almost 4 per cent by 1871. In all cases the most appropriate totals have been used in calculating various percentages and ratios. But in no case should the differences of definition distort the significance of the conclusions drawn.

Valuations, using the contemporary monetary units have been used where individual valuations are concerned (240 pence or 20 shillings = £1). Where values are aggregated, in total holdings and valuations, decimal totals have been used.

Chapter 3

Northampton: the Town.

The urban geography of most towns and cities in the UK has no discernible beginning and continues to evolve in ever-increasing detail until the present day. However the nineteenth century accounts for a significant slice of the period of most rapid growth, and is conveniently marked out by the decennial censuses from 1801 onwards. Further details on the construction, ownership and occupancy of property come mainly from the run of poor rate and improvement commissioners' rate books. The nineteenth century and more specifically the Victorian era also includes most of the processes that drove urban expansion and the patterns of development that resulted.

Northampton itself offers a very suitable case study for the urban geographer of the nineteenth century interested in using property as a yardstick for measuring the growth and development of the town and illustrating the ongoing social character of its population. It was the centre of administration for the county and the main market town for an area roughly 15 miles in all directions, containing around 300 individual parishes including a dozen or so townships including, Kettering, Wellingborough, Olney, Daventry and Towcester, Higham Ferrers, Finedon, Rothwell and Rushden with populations ranging from just under 10,000 in 1851 down to around 2,000, and a similar number of large villages with populations of 1,000 or more, including Long Buckby, Brixworth, Earls Barton, Yardley Hastings, Irthlingborough and Raunds. The boundaries of the catchment area were marked by an outer ring of small to medium towns, Market Harborough, Rugby, Banbury, Buckingham, Stony Stratford, Newport Pagnell, Bedford, Brackley and Oundle, all between 15 and 20 miles distant, while the nearest comparable or larger centres, Leicester, Coventry, Luton and Peterborough were at least 30 miles away.

The original town was protected on the west and south by the marshy valley of the river Nene, and the lines of the original four main streets and the curved outline of the Anglo-Saxon walls can still be seen on the street maps (Figs. 2, 3, 4a). The early

history of the town is best covered by local historians including Greenall and Brown.[1] Under Norman rule the town grew and prospered, and in the early twelfth century a new centre developed around the Market Square and All Saints' church. It went into a long decline in the fourteenth century and Speed's map of 1610 showed large areas of market garden and orchard remained within the mediaeval town defences.

Origins of the footwear trade.

The town's history as a specialised producer of boots and shoes goes back to Cromwellian times, when it produced boots for the Commonwealth army. But until the middle of the eighteenth century it was best known as a producer of woollen cloth. The cloth industry did not however survive, and Northampton's distance from the sea and lack of access to cheap coal prevented the development of heavy or mechanised industry, while its central position in the country counted for little at a time when road transport was poor and canals and railways non-existent.

The availability of leather from local cattle, tannin from nearby oak woods, the absence of competing heavy industries, the decline in alternative employment such as woollen textiles and lace-making, the turn-piking of roads have all been cited as explanations for the location of boot and shoe manufacturing in Northampton and its surrounding area. The River Nene had been navigable to the sea by barges since 1761, but the completion of the link between the river and the Grand Junction Canal in 1815 and the arrival of the railway in 1835 expanded the town's horizons and led to the development of wharves and associated housing including around a dozen courts and tenements on low-lying ground at the southern end of Bridge Street.

The Growth of Northampton.

In contrast to other towns such as Nottingham and Leicester the availability of land for building seems not to have been a problem.[2] Fig. 1 shows the allotments of land resulting from the enclosure act of 1778, according to a map held by the

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1 R. L. Greenall, *A History of Northamptonshire and the Soke of Peterborough,* Chichester, 1979; C. Brown., *Northampton, 1835-1985: Shoe Town, New Town,* Chichester, 1990.

2 M. J. Daunton, *House and home in the Victorian city: working-class housing, 1850-1914.* London, 1983, p.37; R. J. Dennis, *English industrial cities of the nineteenth century,* Cambridge, 1974, p. 149.

Northamptonshire Record Office. The curved boundary with the existing town runs along the course of Grafton Street, the Mounts, York Road and Cheyne Place, the five roads radiating from the town are (clockwise from the top) the Barrack or Kingsthorpe Road, the Kettering, Wellingborough, Billing and Bedford roads.
The act allocated 866 acres of land between six major landowners, the Mayor and Bailiffs (131 acres), the Freemen of the Borough (92 acres), Rev. Walter Griffith (290 acres), Robert Peach (134 acres), Mary Ann Charlwood (90 acres), and Elizabeth Tordiff (80 acres), and a dozen smaller holders with less than seven acres each. The map shows numerous field boundaries, most of which have had a direct and prolonged influence on the pattern of development and the alignment of streets. These holdings were gradually broken down and land released for building, but the influence on street lines persisted.

By the time of the 1801 census when the population was 7,020, the town was still a simple nucleated settlement easily negotiated on foot and largely contained within the historical boundaries. Roper & Cole's map of 1807 clearly shows there was still space for orchards and market gardens within the old walled area, although small clusters of buildings had already developed at the western (St. James', popularly known as Jimmy's End), northern (North End), southern (Cotton End) and eastern (St. Edmund's End) exits from the town (Fig. 2)

The town grew rapidly throughout the nineteenth century, mainly through the addition of new streets. The new General Hospital was opened in 1793 and new barracks were built in 1797, both on land originally owned by Rev. Griffith; some better-class housing followed (Royal Terrace), some with commercial developments (Wellington Place and Hope's Place), and two isolated streets (Nelson and Leicester) of working-class housing were built on land opposite the barracks, sometime after 1807 and before 1830. The shoe trade received a considerable stimulus from the Napoleonic wars and the opening of the canal, and the town grew rapidly in the early years of the nineteenth century. A new district of working-class housing, sometimes known as new Northampton, grew up on the north side of the town, including Scarletwell Street and Bath Street, two parallel complexes of courts and terraces that were not recorded by Roper and Cole in 1807 but parish rate books show were well-established by 1821.

Development focused initially on land in St. Sepulchre's parish, built on sometime after 1807 and subsequently on a ribbon of extra-parochial land running from the river at Grafton Street along the north side of the Mounts, across the Kettering and Wellingborough roads into a large block of land between the Wellingborough Road and Billing Road, east of what later became Palmerston Road. New building was slow, scattered and piecemeal. Development had begun in Market Street (originally Margaret Street) before 1840, but took until 1852 to complete. The New Town estate took almost 30 years to complete.

The role of extra-parochial land in the expansion of housing is especially significant. The precise timing of early developments is not known prior to the first improvement rate books compiled in December 1843, but building on extra-parochial land formerly part of the Priory of St Andrew began rapidly after the census of 1821, ahead of more central sites because of the exemption from payment of poor rates. The extra-parochial areas had a population of just 51 in 1821, but the Abstract of Answers & Returns following the 1831 census[3] laments that "the poor rate and other local taxes absorb one fifth of the rental of land and houses and other fixed property", and the enumerator's report to the 1831 census, warming to a theme from earlier census reports notes that "the inhabitants of these privileged spots in favour of whom the Poor are relieved, Roads and Bridges are maintained, public Justice and police are kept in action by the personal services and at the expense of others, daily increase in number in proportion as those public duties become progressively more onerous and this effectual manner of evading them becomes more generally known."[4]

The census of 1821 records only 21 houses on extra-parochial land. The first developments on extra-parochial land following the enclosures took place on land allotted to Rev. Griffith. Two further parcels of land originally owned by Rev. Griffith and subsequently belonging to the estate of the late Robert Harding were sold at auction in 1833-34.[5] Eight lots totalling 27 acres comprising extra-parochial land between St. Andrew's Street, Grafton Street, Spring Lane and the river were sold on 10 May 1833 and building began within the year in Upper and Lower Harding Street.

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3 Census of 1831. *Abstract of Answers & Returns, Vol. IX,* 1831, p. xlvi.

4 Census of 1831. *Enumerator's Report,* 1831, p.5.

5 Auction catalogues and plans for these and other sales mentioned are held as unclassified documents in the Land Sales Collection in the Northampton Public Library, Abington Street.

A further 152 acres 22 perches between the Kettering Road and Billing Road were auctioned on 18 July 1834. One parcel on the south side of Wellingborough Road subsequently known as the New Town Estate was bought by Thomas Grundy, owner of the Eagle iron foundry, brickyard owner, property developer and an early backer of the Freehold Land Society, and resold on 28 September 1836 as 16 lots averaging 13,000 square feet each, advertised as "valuable building land, freehold, extra-parochial and free of restrictions apart from a requirement on buyers to maintain the roads until adopted by the Paving Authority." Six streets, West, East, South, Bouverie and Melbourne Streets and New Town Road were laid out and plots were offered for sale in smaller lots in March 1837 and October 1845, but not fully developed until the 1850s. Another 97,677 square feet of building land between St. George's Street and Priory Street was also auctioned on 13 March, 1837

Although there are no rating records for the extra-parochial districts before 1 January 1844, 414 houses (383 occupied and 31 empty properties) were listed in these districts in the 1841 census, housing 2,200 people (around 10 per cent of the town and the largest number housed on any extra-parochial area in England and Wales). This total included 54 staff and 231 inmates living in the Asylum and the Infirmary. Even if these are excluded the resident population of almost 2,000 represented a substantial increase on the dozen or so houses and 51 inhabitants recorded in 1821, and 54 extra-parochial houses recorded in 1831.[6]

There are no precise records of the dates of new building on extra-parochial land between 1831 and 1844 but the parish rate books held in the Northamptonshire Record Office show that further building began in the 1830s on parochial land along Brier Lane (later re-named Wellingborough Road) and Kettering Road to the east and Regent Street to the north. Some land originally belonging to Robert Peach was developed sometime after 1830 when building began in Bailiff Street and a number of small streets (Oak, Ash, Elm, Maple, Deal and Pine) were constructed in what was the Cosfords' wood-yard, although building was not complete until 1867. Nearby Great Russell Street was built in stages on a strip of extra-parochial land, beginning probably around 1830. Other parts of Peach's original holding remained undeveloped

6 Report of the Municipal Corporation Boundaries Commission, 1834. NRO.

until 1870, while the land originally allotted to Elizabeth Tordiff and Mary Ann Charlwood although well-located for development, was not built on until the 1880s. Table 2 and Fig. 8 show the progress in detail.

By 1837 most of the town centre had been developed and a small parcel in College Street was advertised with the words, "Every inhabitant knows this is the last estate of its kind in the centre of Northampton which can ever be submitted to public competition."[7] On the main roads development initially consisted of a mixture of commercial premises and middle-class housing with an average rateable value of around £10, while the side streets contained mostly lower middle-class terraced housing valued at around £6, with a scattering of beer-houses and shops occupying mainly corner sites. Behind the street fronts poor quality housing was developed, in courts such as St George's Square (also known as Bull Orchard) and Paradise Row, with rateable values per house of generally £4 or less, and the area between the Wellingborough and Kettering Road contained several clusters of low-grade housing, all rated at between £3 and £4 a house, which in the context of the time meant they could have been little better than hovels.[8] A limited amount of better quality building rated at £10 a year or more took place, and this was concentrated on the extension of the Barrack Road to the north, and the further ends of St Giles Street and Derngate to the south-east. Only a handful of new up-market properties were built, including Royal Terrace (c.1835), and Spencer Parade (1841).

The extent of the town in 1847 can be seen on Law's excellent and detailed map[9], published in two halves on a scale of 1:264. (Fig. 3), marking the beginning of sustained expansion. Development was never a smooth or continuous process. The Borough itself was a significant land-owner in part as a result of the enclosure acts, and attempted to impose restrictive covenants on the sale of land along the Billing and Barrack Roads, which resulted in several abortive auctions and delays of up to 20 years in the development of council land in favour of unrestricted private land further

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7 *Northampton Mercury,* 11 February, 1837.

8 In 1852 a report of the Poor Law Guardians, held in the Northamptonshire Record Office, rejected the application of John Somerfield to take on an apprentice on the grounds that he had a wife and four children in a house in Scarletwell Street which consisted of one upstairs room for sleeping and one living room downstairs. His house was rated at £3 per annum in that year.

9 Held by the Local History Department of Northampton Public Libraries and reprinted in a facsimile edition with notes by V. A. Hatley in 1972.

away from the town centre. Tracts of parochial land between Lady's Lane (also known as Ladies Lane), Church Lane and the Mounts were sold in August 1849,[10] but along with land along the Billing Road owned by the Town Council had to wait until the 1860s before they were developed. A further substantial sale on 22 December, 1868 included land in Denmark Road, Vernon Street and Oak Street, as well as land on the site of the old castle, on which Bristol, Fitzroy and Moat Streets were built, By 1871 the town had doubled in size and population and contained over 300 different streets and courts, identified in Fig. 4. The building line was initially highly irregular, with development spreading out along the main roads and numerous undeveloped inliers remaining within the built-up area as late as 1871 (Fig. 5).

In addition to residential property the rate books record mixed-use and commercial properties, which illustrate the changing urban context in which the inhabitants lived and worked. Over the years observers of the Northampton scene have commented on both the dullness of the town's housing, and also its suitability for its overwhelmingly working-class residents. In contrast to many other towns and cities land was readily available for development close to the town centre, property in Northampton was entirely freehold, and relatively few restrictions were imposed on the quality of housing erected.

Specifically middle-class housing rated from about £10 a year upwards was built between 1830 and 1870 but the vast bulk of the new housing was intended for a working population overwhelmingly dominated by the shoe trade. Initially this new property was mainly rated at between £5 and £6, but the rateable values and therefore quality of new working-class housing improved gradually to between £7 and £9 by the end of the period under study. Shoe-makers' families worked almost entirely from home until the first introduction of machinery in the late 1850s, and would have needed a parlour or a workroom, usually in a back extension. Local communities would ideally need to contain at least one warehouse, usually referred to as "shop", for the storage and distribution of leather and the weekly collection of finished and semi-finished footwear, as well as local services including corner shops (at least some of which may have doubled as pawn-shops), and beer-houses.

[10] Sale catalogue and plan in the Land Sales Collection of uncatalogued documents held by NPL.

As late as the 1860s some space was available for infilling within the old walled area close to the site of the Castle and along the Mounts (which took its name from the defences erected in the Civil War), but expansion increasingly took place towards the northern and eastern edges of town, along and between the Kettering and Wellingborough, Kingsthorpe and Billing roads. Expansion to the west and south was barred by the river Nene, crossed only by the West and South bridges, but development spread across the river barrier into Far Cotton in the late 1860s, a single track railway north to Market Harborough opened in 1869, and at the same time the Spencer Bridge was built, spanning the railway and the river, and opening a direct road link to the village of Dallington. By 1871 the town contained more than 40,000 inhabitants, living in around 8,000 houses, arranged in 330 streets and courts. As the town continued to expand, infilling continued, but the sub-division of existing properties noted by Daunton[11] in Newcastle, Gateshead and Liverpool for example was not much evident in Northampton; the commercial centre retained much of its residential functions well into the second half of the nineteenth century and the ready availability of land for new developments within easy reach of the town centre made it possible to accommodate the rapid growth of population without undue overcrowding.

Economic and social development of Northampton.

The shoe trades and the ancillary trades of currying, leather dressing and last-making dominated the employment structure of the town throughout the nineteenth century and well into the second half of the twentieth. Initially Northampton itself dominated the trade but during the middle years of the nineteenth century boot and shoe-making expanded in the towns and villages around Northampton, replacing woollen, silk and lace manufacturing trades that had been the staple industries of Kettering, Wellingborough, Rothwell, Desborough, Long Buckby and Earls Barton until the early years of the nineteenth century.[12] Proximity to London, the main mass market for ready-made shoes was also a factor. Low wages and lack of organisation in the

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11 Daunton, *House and home*, pp.15-24.

12 P. R. Mounfield, 'The Footwear Industry of the East Midlands' *East Midland Geographer, vol. 3, No.*24, 1965, p.437.

labour market attracted London manufacturers to put work out to employers in Northampton Mounfield quotes an article by Knowles and Verry (1934) indicating that "in 1809 the London masters were cutting out boot and shoe parts and sending them to Northampton to be made up at little more than half the London cost." Earnings in the country districts, where many shoe-workers had access to a plot of land to help feed their families, were even lower, and labour remained unorganised even after Northampton shoe-makers had begun to organise.[13]

The London shoe-makers' strike of 1812 encouraged London employers to switch business permanently to Northampton, where labour was both cheaper and more docile.[14] According to one estimate quoted by local librarian and historian Victor Hatley, in 1818 there may have been 550 to 600 boot and shoe workers in an adult male population aged 20 and over of around 2,500,[15] and by 1851 39 per cent of the adult male population was employed in the shoe trade. This proportion fell slightly to 38 per cent in 1861, almost certainly as a result of the exodus of shoemakers after the strikes against the introduction of machinery in 1859 had failed, but rallied again to 43 per cent by 1871. In 1861 Northampton ranked sixth in a list of two dozen selected towns in industrial specialisation, with 67.4 per cent of its male workforce employed in manufacturing, ahead of Leicester, Leeds, Wolverhampton and Derby and against a national average of 39.0 per cent.[16] For women it ranked seventh out of 24, with 66.0 per cent of the labour force in manufacturing, ahead of Derby, Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham and a national average of 45.0 per cent.

It ranked fifth in the ratio of manufacturing to services employment among males at 3.7 to one against a national average of 1.3 to one, and seventh among women with a ratio of 2.1 to one against a national average of 1.0. In terms of specialisation it ranked third, with 44 per cent of males employed in its dominant industry against a national average of 24 per cent, and fifth for females with 62 per cent against a national average of 37 per cent (dominant industries of course vary)[17]. Foster pointed

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13 Mounfield, 'Footwear', p.443.

14 J. White, *London in the 19th century,* London, 2008, p.177

15 V.A. Hatley, *Snobopolis: Northampton in 1869. No. 1 in the Northamptonshire Historical Series,* Northampton, 1966, p.3. 'Snob' was a Northamptonshire term for shoemaker.

16 D.A. Reeder and R. Rodger, 'Industrialisation and the city economy', in M J. Daunton, (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History, v.3. 1840-1950.* p.566.

17 Reeder and Rodger, pp. 567-70, Tabs. 18-1, 18-2, 18.4..

out that Northampton became progressively more specialised, employing eleven times the national average of shoemakers in 1841, rising to 17 times in 1861 and 22 times by 1871.[18]

The boot and shoe industry in Northamptonshire and Northampton,

The economy of Northamptonshire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was dominated by agriculture, boot and shoemaking which steadily replaced earlier woollen textiles and lace-making, and latterly and more locally by the introduction of iron-working. Northampton itself also supported iron foundries, flour and oilseed milling, and a number of breweries, but the footwear trade and supporting tanning and leather-working activities dominated the employment structure of the town from the late seventeenth until the second half of the twentieth centuries. The shoe trade in Northampton itself certainly goes back at least until the Civil War, when there were reports of boots being made for Cromwell's army, and by 1841 Northampton had already established itself as the leading centre of footwear production, specialising in men's shoes while Leicester became the centre for women's footwear.

The footwear trade is and always has been the Cinderella of British manufacturing. Unlike textiles and metallurgy it does not have a separate entry in leading historical statistical tables, in the pages of Mitchell & Deane or in the Trade and Navigation Returns, there are no surviving histories of the leading Northampton footwear firms during the period studied, and the information required by the census enumerators on the numbers of hands employed seems to be patchy. There are occasional references to annual production in terms of pairs made[19], but no corresponding measures of value, of turnover or profits.

Northampton was certainly not a wealthy town. Boot and shoe making was a poorly-paid industry even before the introduction of machinery, and commentators such as Foster observe that the growth of the trade owed much to the arrival of London-based entrepreneurs taking advantage of the availability of a relatively docile pool of labour

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18 J. Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early industrial capitalism in three English towns*, London, 1974, p. 78.

19 Brown, *Northampton,* p. 17.

willing to undercut the wages of London shoe workers.[20] Bowley[21] had estimated the average income of a shoe-maker in the 1840s at 10s a week, plus the incomes of his wife and children, and Foster quotes a contemporary shoe-maker writing in 1852 who concluded, "no single-handed man can live; he must have a whole family at work."[22] Cynthia Brown, quotes a report from the Northampton Society of Operative Cordwainers in 1838 that the average earnings of a shoemaker could be as low as 12-15s (60-75p.) a week supplemented by perhaps half as much again by the earnings of his wife and children.[23] For 1849 Foster estimated that 28 per cent of families were below the subsistence level. Among labourers the proportions below the poverty line ranged from 45 per cent to 78 per cent.[24]

References to "wages" in the shoe-trade are frequent, but shoemakers, and their wives and children, were evidently paid weekly on a piecework basis. Early in the nineteenth century shoe-making was essentially a craft industry carried on by individual shoemakers, working at home and making the entire boot or shoe, although often with the help of wives and children. Over time however an extensive system of out-working developed involving the increasing use of cheaper labour in nearby villages and small towns such as Kettering, Daventry, Raunds, Wollaston, Earls Barton and Long Buckby. Costs were further held down by the progressive sub-division of the shoe-making process into skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled work, and the increased employment of poorly-paid women and children for the lighter work of closing the soles and uppers. Leather accounted for about half the total costs of production and clickers, who cut the uppers from the hides, were the elite workers and often managed the assignment of other tasks and were widely resented by other workers. They often graduated to becoming small manufacturers in their own right. Together with low-status rough-stuff cutters who prepared the soles and heels, they worked from the manufacturers' own premises and both were usually paid by the day, while out-workers remained on piece-work.[25]

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20 Foster, *Class Struggle*, p. 85.
21 A. L. Bowley and A. R. Burnett Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*, London, 1913.
22 Foster, *Class struggle*, p. 94.
23 Brown, *Northampton*, p. 17.
24 Foster, *Class Struggle*, pp. 98-9.
25 Brown, *Northampton*, p. 17

The acceptance of low pay may well however have allowed independent shoe-makers to resist the introduction of machinery and the factory system until 1859, when 20 leading local employers issued a leaflet warning of the loss of business resulting from the introduction of sewing machines elsewhere in Britain and announcing the simultaneous forcible introduction of machine-sewn tops (uppers) on 14 February, 1859.[26] The ultimatum triggered an extensive strike which greatly damaged local trade and led to the transfer of a significant amount of business to rival centres such as Leicester, Kendal and Stafford.[27] But by May the strike had collapsed and work progressively transferred to new or converted warehouses and later to a new generation of purpose-built factories, employing an increasingly specialised workforce and producing progressive changes in the nature of work and housing. The effects of the strike were however severe and long-lasting. In the summer of 1861, two years after the strike ended, 26 of the 157 houses in the shoe-making area of Scarletwell Street and its courts were recorded as empty for months at a time, in four more properties the tenants had "left the town", three had "no effects", two could "not be found", and in one case the payments were simply "irrecoverable".[28]

The footwear trade: Sources of information

Sources of information on the footwear trade include P. R. Mounfield, whose Ph. D. thesis at Nottingham in 1962 pioneered academic studies[29] and led to a definitive series of articles in the *East Midland Geographer*.[30] Mounfield identified a number of location factors supporting the growth of the footwear trades in and around Northampton, including the ready supply of surplus rural labour as a result of enclosures, the adoption of improved technology and the shift from labour-intensive

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[26] The leaflet, entitled *Sewing Machine*s is reproduced in C. Brown, *Northampton*, p. 19. The signatories were: Frederick Bostock, S. Isaac, Campbell & Co., William Parker & Sons, Hollis & Son, Jeffery & Ellard, Henry Harday, M.P. Manfield, Poole & Co., George Parsons, G & C Turner, William Jones, J. Wetherell & Co., William Bunting & Son,
Henry Marshall, Richard Turner, James Trench, S.G. Edwards, Jonathan Robinson, Ager & Milne and Robert Derby.

[27] The summary of the 1871 census, volume II, p.344, stated: "About the year 1861 the strike at Northampton caused the removal of a large portion (sic) of its shoe trade to Leicester…..", but it is not clear whether this refers to a second episode or a vague reference to the strike of 1859.

[28] Rate book for St. Sepulchre's parish, 10 May, 1861.

[29] P. R. Mounfield, *The Location of Footwear Manufacturing in England and Wales,* unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Nottingham, 1962;

[30] P. R. Mounfield, 'The Footwear Industry of the East Midlands', *East Midland Geographer, vols. 3-4, Nos. 22*-4, 1964-7.

arable farming to grazing; the decline in other established industries including woollens, silk and lace-making in the surrounding towns and villages; and the absence of competition from other modern industries which required access to cheap coal to power machinery. These factors opened the way first for the rapid growth of the established footwear trade in Northampton in the period up to 1851, and a gradually increasing diversification into surrounding towns and villages in search of still cheaper out-sourced labour. This was followed after 1851 by a faster growth of population and in footwear manufacturing in the towns and villages of the Ise valley and the establishment of independent firms as employers took advantage of labour displaced from declining trades, lower costs and a ready supply of suitable premises. The construction of the main railway from Derby to London through the Ise valley in 1857 provided a further stimulus to the industry and hastened the decline of the trade in Daventry and Towcester.[31]

Victor Hatley, then Librarian at the Northampton Borough Library produced a number of papers including the much quoted reprint of an important commentary on the state of the shoe trade in Northampton in 1869,[32] collected statistical material from a range of sources published in the short-lived Northampton Historical Series,[33] and contributed a nine-page monograph on the impact of the first warehouse/factories opened side-by-side on Campbell Square in 1859.[34] Cynthia Brown produced the most comprehensive study of the town including its political evolution and added valuable insights on the shoe trade.[35] Local historian Ron Greenall included a brief commentary on the shoe trades,[36] and the novelist H. E. Bates, born in Rushden, contributed a rare account of the life of a rural shoe-maker, based on the experiences of his own father and grandfather.[37] Keith Brooker contributed an analysis of the Northamptonshire shoe trade to the reprint of the autobiography of local shoe-maker

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31 Mounfield, 'Footwear, Northamptonshire, 1700-1911', *EMG vol. 3, no. 24,* 1965. pp. 434-53.
32 R. Rowe, 'Toiling and Moiling: Some Account of our Working People and How they Live: VI - The Northampton Shoemaker', in N. Macleod (ed.), *Good Words,* vol. 10, London, 1869, pp. 758-64, reproduced in full with illustrations and commentary in V. A. Hatley, *Snobopolis,* Northampton, 1976.
33 V. A. Hatley and J. Rajczonek, *Shoemakers in Northamptonshire, 1762-1911, A statistical survey,* Northampton, 1971.
34 V. A. Hatley, 'Monsters in Campbell Square', *Northamptonshire Past & Present,* vol. 4, No. 1, Northampton, 1966. See also *Victoria County History of Northamptonshire, vol. II,* pp.51-9.
35 Brown, *Northampton,* especially pp. 16-21.
36 Greenall, *A History of Northamptonshire,* pp. 103-6.
37 H. E. Bates, *The Vanished World,* London, 1969.

and self-made businessman William Arnold, originally published in 1915.[38] Brooker notes the emergence of another large wholesaling firm, the partnership of Turner Brothers (Richard and George) and Henry Hyde, a London merchant, whose firm took over the premises of Isaac, Campbell in 1861 and was in the 1870s "reputed to employ 4,000 outworkers alone in the town and surrounding countryside."[39] English Heritage has produced the best illustrated survey of the interiors and exteriors of buildings associated with the industry.[40]

The Victoria County History.

The most comprehensive recent survey of the shoe trade in the locations covered by this thesis is to be found in Volume 6 of the Victoria County History of Northampton.[41] The History identifies three phases, out-working, mechanisation and take-overs in the development of the shoe trade in Northamptonshire between 1800 and 2000, two of which feature in the time-frame covered by this thesis. In 1800 most boot and shoe-makers were concentrated in Northampton itself, mostly in the form of "stitch-men" or independent craftsmen, working at home and making the complete shoe by hand, with some help from wives and children, and selling their production to wholesalers or middle-men on a weekly basis. The industry benefited from improvements in transport especially the arrival of the canal in 1815 and the railway in 1835, and from a series of strikes in the established London boot and shoe industry which encouraged employers to look for cheaper and more docile labour in Northampton. At the time most towns and villages had local shoe-makers who made as well as repaired shoes but Northampton's rapid growth into a specialised manufacturing centre was encouraged by the steady rise of urban mass markets, especially in London and by periodic surges in demand for boots for soldiers and sailors by the Army and Navy Boards during the Napoleonic Wars and the Crimean War, subsequently from overseas markets especially during the American Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, the Californian and Australian Gold rushes, and from

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38 K. B. Brooker, (ed.) *Recollections of William Arnold: Victor Hatley Memorial Series, vol. 4,* Northampton, 2014.
39 Brooker, *Recollections,* p. 135.
40 K. A. Morrison and A. Bond, *Built to Last? The buildings of the Northamptonshire Boot and Shoe Industry,* London, 2004.
41 C. Insley (ed.) *Victoria County History of Northamptonshire, vol. VI: Modern Industry,* Martlesham, 2007.

emerging markets in the Empire. But at frequent intervals demand dropped sharply and the industry developed a reputation for poor pay, short-time working and lay-offs, aggravated by the activities of middle-men and factors and clickers, who assigned work to makers and their families.

Northampton remained the centre of the wholesale trade, with 60 boot and shoe wholesalers recorded in the 1847 directory, compared to 12 in Daventry, nine in Wellingborough and seven in Earls Barton. But the search for lower production costs had encouraged the industry gradually to spread to a number of other towns and villages such as Towcester and Long Buckby, Rushden and Wollaston, in competition with or in collaboration with Northampton-based firms. The opening of the Midland railway line encouraged the growth of independent firms based in Wellingborough, Rushden and other small towns and villages in the Ise Valley, extending then to Kettering where shoe-making replaced the declining woollen trade, and finally to Rothwell and Desborough, all within easy reach of the railway. In 1851 there were 17,204 workers employed in the footwear trades in the county, including 5,000 in Northampton itself and numbers continued to rise throughout the nineteenth century. By the time of the 1861 census the trade was expanding rapidly in the Ise valley and along the middle Nene as far as Ringstead, and also spilled over into the Ouse valley in Buckinghamshire, where the small town of Olney and the villages of Hanslope and Stoke Goldington were significant centres, while the trade had begun to decline in Daventry, Towcester and Brackley.

Over time the nature of the trade changed under the impact of improved transport, and increased competition and finally of the introduction of machinery into what had been until the late 1850s an almost entirely handicraft industry. Although wholesalers encouraged increasing levels of specialisation and sub-division of labour, employing increasing numbers of women and children to carry out the lighter and less skilled processes including closing and knot-tying and stabbing, creating a hierarchy of specialised skills, the trade remained essentially a home-based activity carried on in domestic parlours or small out-buildings without the use of machinery until the late 1850s, when Singer sewing machines became available, increasing the opportunities for the sub-division of labour, regular working hours and supervised manufacture in centralised warehouses that quickly became factories. Many small firms in outlying

centres adopted machinery ahead of Northampton itself but the pressure of competition eventually forced Northampton manufacturers into announcing the forced introduction of machinery.

Many independent shoe makers resisted the challenge to their traditional way of life in spite of the appeal of better working conditions and increased opportunities for women and children to add to family incomes. Two manufacturers, M. P. Manfield and S. Isaac, Campbell erected large warehouses on adjoining sites on what became known as Campbell Square. As early as 1857 at a public meeting Manfield had denied that plans for a factory meant the introduction of machinery while Isaac, Campbell promised to retain piece-work as the method payment, and allowed married women to take work home and to bring small children to work, but their efforts at persuasion met with with mixed success. In February 1859 20 local manufacturers, including Manfield and Isaac, Campbell, announced the simultaneous compulsory introduction of machinery. Many traditional shoe-makers led by the Northamptonshire Boot and Shoe-makers' Mutual Protection Society, joined a series of strikes, others left the town in search of work elsewhere, but the strikes collapsed and mechanisation spread steadily throughout the industry, including the introduction of iron lasts and machine riveting machinery from 1859 onwards to replace traditional stitching methods.

By 1865 1,500 closing machines were at work, and a small specialised industry of firms specialising in closing grew up, initially on the Mounts. Production rose to an average of 15-20 pairs a week per household. At the same time a new hierarchy of workers gradually emerged, from clickers who selected and cut the uppers from the hides, through closers, riveters, fitters, rough-stuff makers. From the 1860s onwards upwards of a dozen small factories were built in the expanding suburban streets, leaving only a small number of specialised makers of hand-made shoes by 1890s. Expansion was punctuated by a series of strikes, mainly in favour of increased wages and in defence of unions such as the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, founded in 1874, but factory working and weekly wages gradually replaced out-working and piece-work, conditions gradually improved and the industry survived with relatively little further change until the 1950s when steadily increasing competition from overseas centres with much lower wage costs led to a series of amalgamations and consolidation and to the vertical integration of the industry. But

this only delayed the full impact of competition from Italy, Portugal, and eventually from China, the progressive closure of factories in Northampton, town and county, the demolition or conversion of factories to other uses and the wholesale clearance of much of the housing built before 1870 to accommodate local shoe workers.

The structure of the industry

The structure of the shoe trade in the nineteenth century was anything but stable. Many small firms and partnerships co-existed with the larger more durable businesses. Entry costs were low but margins wafer-thin. Turnover rates among footwear manufacturers were even higher than among builders, a trade which itself is considered to have been extremely fluid. A comparison of the 1847 and 1854 trade directories[42] for example shows an increase from 62 to 75 in the number of boot and shoe "manufacturers", but no less than 29 of the original 62 had disappeared and been replaced by 21 newcomers seven years later. (The distinction between makers and manufacturers may itself be an arbitrary one). By comparison the number of builders had risen from 20 to 34 but of the original 20 only one had disappeared by 1854, to be replaced by 15 newcomers. A similar analysis of wholesale manufacturing firms based on Northampton Trade Directories showed 328 entries and 271 exits between 1840 and 1869 alone.[43] This impression of a high turnover in shoe manufacturers is supported by the frequency of notices in the local newspapers recording the dissolution and creation of partnerships.

There were some larger businesses. Brown quotes sources showing that as early as 1836 William Parker employed some 800 home workers and produced 20,000 pairs of boots and 60,000 pairs of shoes a year, and admitted his main rival, John Groom, was "almost as big," while the 1851 census noted at least 12 firms employing over 100 workers each.[44] Some had retail outlets as far afield as Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and Belfast. Exports were important, especially to the United States until the Civil War, which stimulated local manufacture, and afterwards to colonial markets. In 1871 Fig. 35 shows a number of very large premises were clustered just south of

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42 Kelly & Co. *Directory of Northamptonshire,* London, 1847, pp. 2096-103. Kelly & Co. *Directory of Northamptonshire,* London, 1854, pp. 457-67.

43 Brooker, *Recollections,* p. 162.

44 Brown, *Northampton,* p. 17.

the Mounts, including two adjacent warehouses owned by Isaac, Campbell and occupied by Turner Bros & Hyde and rated at £216 and £36, an adjacent site owned and occupied by M. P. Manfield and rated at £108, a warehouse in nearby Victoria Street owned by the executors of S. Horsey, occupied by F. Bostock, and rated at £90, and another at the "top" end of Wood Street owned by Mrs. Rymer and rated at £77. But the trade remained un-mechanised until long after the introduction of machinery in the textiles and other similar trades.

Northampton remained the largest centre of production but an extensive series of satellite outworking villages emerged around the main footwear towns. Brooker lists 17 outwork villages, [45] some of them linked to individual firms in Northampton, and most containing a resident shoe agent and a small master as well as individual out-workers, providing their own tools and "grindery" materials, and increasingly equipped with a sewing machine leased or bought on an instalment plan.[46] According to figures compiled by Hatley and Rajczonek, using the census returns of 1841, 1851 and 1861 for 73 towns and villages within a radius of about 15 miles of Northampton the industry was also established in the towns and villages along the middle Nene valley and its tributary the Ise .[47] They included Wellingborough, Kettering, Raunds, Irthlingborough, and Earls Barton, where around 20 per cent of the entire population was said to be employed in the trade in 1851, along with lesser concentrations averaging 5 to 15 per cent in Daventry, Long Buckby and Towcester and a handful of smaller villages such as Walgrave, Holcot and Harpole. The industry also spilled over into the valley of the Ouse, where lace-making remained the principal trade but 48 male and four female shoe workers (2 per cent of the total population) were recorded in the small town of Olney and 18 males and two females in the large village of Hanslope, Fig. 7a shows the situation in 1851. In the larger centres there were already significant numbers of female workers, and juveniles, especially boys, mainly recorded as shoe closers, binders and fitters, suggesting early indications of specialised methods of production. In most of the smaller centres examined by Hatley and Rajczonek however, shoe workers were almost entirely male.

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45 Brooker, *Recollections,* p. 154,

46 Brooker, *Recollections, pp. 152-3.*

47 V. A. Hatley & J. Rajczonek, *Shoemakers in Northamptonshire, 1762-1911: A Statistical Survey*, Northampton, 1971.

The data recorded by Hatley and Rajczonek has now been updated, using the same methodology and definitions. (Fig. 7b). By 1871 the trend was still generally upwards, and the number of towns and villages involved in the trade expanded, with employment increasing in Kettering (from 558 or 10.6 per cent of the total population in 1851 to 1,568 or 21.7 per cent in 1871) and spreading into adjacent parts of the Ise valley such as Rothwell and Desborough. In the middle Nene valley numbers employed in the industry rose by 40 per cent in Wellingborough but declined as a proportion of the expanding total population from 24 to 19 per cent, probably as a result of the parallel growth of iron-working and railway yards. But this was more than made up by expansion in adjacent centres such as Finedon, Irchester, Rushden, Ringstead and especially Irthlingborough, where employment in the shoe trades rose from 17.8 per cent to 37.8 per cent of the total expanded population between 1851 and 1871. Earls Barton and Raunds also maintained their importance, with 31.9 and 24.8 per cent respectively employed in shoe trades in 1871.

Shoe-making as the dominant form of industrial activity also spilled out from Northampton itself into the adjacent villages such as Kingsthorpe, Hardingstone (almost entirely in the settlement of Far Cotton, just across the South Bridge from Northampton itself), Wootton, Harpole, Duston and Dallington (these two last sharing the district of St James' End just across the West Bridge), but stagnated or declined in other, more outlying, locations such as Towcester, Daventry, Olney, Long Buckby, Walgrave, Holcot, Piddington and Hackleton.

Census records indicated a continuing increase in specialisation with many males recorded in 1871 as riveters and even closers in addition to boot/shoe makers, cordwainers and clickers (skilled workmen responsible for cutting the uppers from hides), and in most centres the importance of juvenile workers at best held steady, perhaps as a result of the extension of schooling for boys and girls up to the age of 12 and the virtual disappearance of juveniles below that age recorded as in employment in the 1871 census, at least in the larger centres of population. In the larger towns increasing numbers of women, and juveniles between the ages of 13 and 17 were recorded as closers and fitters, while in the middle Nene valley (but not in Northampton) a number of boys were recorded as "skivers" a term evidently implying easy or unskilled work, paring soles and heels for assembly.

Hatley and Rajczonek showed that in 1851 females were relatively unimportant outside the larger shoe settlements such as Kettering, Wellingborough, Daventry, Earls Barton, Higham Ferrers, Raunds and Rushden; but the proportions rose significantly between 1851 and 1861, when they accounted for between a quarter and half the total in these centres. Proportions were also higher and rising steadily by 1861 in the villages adjacent to Northampton itself. Elsewhere they still accounted for relatively insignificant proportions even in places such as Long Buckby (15.5 per cent in 1851, 12.8 per cent in 1861). By 1871 however the proportions of females to males had risen substantially in many places, from 46.4 per cent to 49.8 per cent in Wellingborough, 27.8 per cent to 34.1 per cent in Kettering, from 9 per cent to 30 per cent in Ringstead, while in Higham Ferrers where ironworking provided competition for male workers, females had actually edged ahead from 48.7 per cent to 50.6 per cent. Women shoe workers also outnumbered men in Far Cotton where the railway provided strong competition for male workers. Proportions although still high had fallen slightly in Rushden and Earls Barton however, and in most rural centres the proportion of female shoe workers remained negligible in 1871.

Social conditions

The Marxian historian Foster selected Northampton with Oldham and South Shields as one of three representative one-industry towns for his study of the Victorian working class[48]. While Northampton had some advantages over its more northerly rivals Foster painted a distinctly gloomy picture of life in Northampton, derived largely from the 1851 census and viewed through the prism of his Marxist view of society. Only 5 per cent of the population were members of the "magnate, professional and tradesman class", another 26 per cent were "small masters, clerical and shopkeeper class", 11 per cent were classified as craftsmen, while 43 per cent were semi-skilled and 14 per cent were either labourers or paupers.[49]

Foster also claimed that Northampton only became an industrial town because of the powerful "push" of rural depopulation in the 1820s and 1830s, bringing an influx of

48 Foster, *Class Struggle,* pp.76, 84-7.
49 Foster, *Class Struggle,* p.76.

labour, with the result that in 1851 72 per cent of the adult population had been born outside the town, a figure very comparable with much bigger cities such as Bradford and Glasgow. Foster attributed low wages in the town to the even cheaper blackleg labour available in the surrounding villages, exploited to hold down wages in Northampton itself. Foster was particularly scathing in his commentary on the shoe - workers' inability to defend their independence. Northampton was a centre of the Chartist movement in the 1840s and 1850s but he noted that in 1845 the shoe-makers' society had 166 members out of a possible 3,000 and concluded that "politically it combined a vigorous surface radicalism with a rather sickly and underdeveloped working-class movement."[50] In the absence of machinery to raise productivity employers also began dividing up the shoe-making process in order to make use of even cheaper supplementary labour of women and children. He quotes the census samples for 1841 and 1851, showing the proportion of workers employed as specialised binders and closers rising from 30 to 38 per cent of the total work-force.[51]

Foster is the main source of information on the character of the shoe-making community in Northampton in the mid-nineteenth century, emphasising poverty, employment structure, birthplaces, its sense of community and status in the class war.[52] He notes the ease with which they could be exploited by employers and their agents and the low level of organisation in a labour force consisting of hundreds of competing craftsmen dependent on weekly earnings to keep their heads and their families' heads above water.

Shoemakers were notorious in pleasing themselves when they worked, in taking Mondays off to drink or play (St. Monday), and working on Sundays to finish their assignments and collect their pay. While statistics on the town and its trades are relatively plentiful, if selective, contemporary descriptions of the town are few, but the November 1869 issue of *Good Words* included a widely quoted article entitled "The Northampton Shoemaker," No. 6 in a series entitled "Toiling and Moiling: Some Account of our Working People and how they live."[53] It combines a strong moralistic

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50 Foster, *Class struggle,* p. 103.

51 Foster, 'Nineteenth-century towns: a class dimension', in H.J. Dyos, (ed.) *The study of urban history,* London, 1968, p. 298.

52 Foster, *Class Struggle,* especially pp. 73-103, 125-31, 161-5.

53 *Good Word*s described itself as a non-denominational, Edinburgh-based monthly magazine,

flavour with useful descriptions of street scenes, activity inside a contemporary shoe factory and interviews with employers. The author, Richard Rowe, describes "old churches and houses of brown and cream-coloured Kingsthorpe stone are so oddly blended with two- three- and four-floored new brick shoe factories, with trim villakins (sic), and new streets running bramble-blocked into cornfields, or up to the scarped backs of meadows. Pallid men, stubbly-chinned and smudged as to the cheeks and aprons like a lodging-house slavey black-leading a grate are loafing about at every corner. Ditto men and boys and untidy women and girls are "going to shop" with bagfuls and faggots of boots and shoes and sole-less uppers. The women-folk seem to toil under the heaviest loads."

Rowe also describes the working practices in one (unnamed) of the new "factories," initially erected as warehouses in Campbell Square in the 1860s, "which employs four hundred hands on and four times as many off the premises." In St. Andrew's (extra-parochial district) it describes "neatly built but yet squalid, unfragrant two-floored cottages, roadways splashed with slops and littered with garbage; dirty children quarrelling, grubbing in the dirt, racing, squealing, squatting on the kerbstone in rows like roosting draggle-tailed fowls; vixenish women and beery men, in and out of low "publics" are the salient features of Snobopolis." (snob was a local term for shoe-maker).

Rowe also interviewed a local shoe manufacturer who put a value of £1m a year as a low estimate of the town's shoe exports. Asked about wages he claims that a very few of his employees make £3 a week; "more make £2, but I dare say a good many do not make more than 12s (60p). It depends on the man himself." An unnamed "middle-man" employing 70 hands, mostly women and girls in a three-storey brick building, claims "machinists, young women between 17 and 20-odd, working uppers on Howe and Singer sewing machines, earn from 9s to 18s a week, while little girls employed as "knot-tiers" earn from 1s 6d to 3s, and "fitter girls" of intermediate age earn from 7s to 12s fitting the uppers to lasts in preparation for the machinists." Meanwhile the Northampton Industrial Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society Ltd, a co-operative

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established in 1860 by Alexander Strachan, with Dr Norman Macleod as its first editor. According to its first issue it was devoted to "instructive and original articles on various topics of interest to the Christian family". It ran until 1906 when it was amalgamated with the Sunday Magazine.

venture", had a new factory in Robert Street, 100 members, 60 of whom work for the factory, ten on the premises, and in the previous half-year made net profits of £246 2s 9d on sales of £4,370, after spending £2,260 on materials and nearly £1,500 on wages to members and non-members".

The article has been reproduced in full with a commentary by Victor Hatley,[54] which adds that an article in *Leather Trades Circular* for March 1868 attributed to "Simon the Tanner", gave a much more flattering impression of the town and the condition of the shoemakers' houses compared with the "unwashed appearance" and "malodorous dwellings" of London shoemakers. Hatley also quotes extensively from a report by a Dr. George Buchanan, a permanent inspector in the Medical Department of the Privy Council Office, dated April, 1871, saying that "The people of Northampton are, as a rule, very fairly housed. Even the poorest people have usually a house to themselves, for sub-letting is seldom found to extend beyond a married son or daughter, or an artisan who works in the house. As compared with average towns the instances are few in which two or three families reside in one house, and even though for the last three or four years (and especially in 1870) house-room has been in extra demand through exceptional briskness of trade, the want has been supplied by the occupation of new houses or of houses previously empty rather than by any general sub-letting. There is little overcrowding therefore, unless it be such as results from the mal-distribution of the family in the rooms of the house. In the older parts of the town, particularly, houses are found ill-kept and dirty; but even this is not so general a fault as in most large towns. There are no cellar habitations. Common lodging houses are regulated by the police, and it is stated that they are fairly kept".

Buchanan continued "Building of new houses has gone on very rapidly of late years in the borough and its suburbs. The old type of house consisted of two rooms, one above the other, with a back room and privy built on and almost covering the scanty back-yard. Other old houses in courts were built without any back-yards, and even without any back windows. But during the recent rapid growth of the town, new regulations about building have been in force (the Northampton Improvement Act of 1843), with very good results within the borough. The new type of cottage (terraced

54 Hatley, *Snobopolis.* pp.3, 8-9.

houses) has 15 feet of frontage, two or three stories, with two rooms on each floor, and a basement used as a coal cellar. The privy is outside the house in a small but fairly sufficient yard".

Hatley adds that "many of the terraced houses built in Northampton between 1820 and 1850 had three storeys (e.g. Greyfriars Street) Two-storey houses built after 1850 usually had a two-storey back addition which provided an extra two small rooms on each floor". Buchanan continued, "To the rear of these cottages are sometimes attached workshops, in which materials brought from the shoe factories are made up by members of the family, who, in some instances take in boys and girls as assistant workers. It may be supposed that the care bestowed upon their houses by the residents varies considerably. In a generally tidy row of houses where people commonly took pride in providing their houses with little evidences of comfort, a house would be met with, equally new and well-built with the rest, but knocked about and brought into a wretched state of filth by its first tenants".

Buchanan goes on to say that "the staple occupation of the people of Northampton is shoe-making: it is partly carried on at the workers' homes, but of late years, owing to the introduction of machinery, a larger proportion of work is done in factories. Women and children are employed as well as men. Good wages (sic) can be readily earned, and there is little extreme poverty in the town. Without speaking positively on the point I may say that the occupation of mothers does not appear to affect on any large scale the care of the younger children. Of course the habitual meeting in their work-places of members of different families assists, unless precautions are taken, the spread of any infectious disease that may be about, but I saw no evidence that this tendency was fostered by ill construction of work-places".

Living standards, life-style and life expectancy.

Although Northampton was certainly a poor, working-class town, it seems to have suffered less severely from epidemic diseases such as cholera, typhus or smallpox than Liverpool, Manchester and the east end of London, and although the 1848 Act made Boards of Health mandatory in towns and cities with death rates in excess of 23 per thousand, the first Medical Officer of Health in Northampton was not appointed

until 1876.[55] But poverty, insecurity, poor housing and working conditions took their toll on the population. Drainage and sanitation were inadequate, and the town water supply was often polluted. A total of 700 houses were supplied with water out of a total of around 4,200 or 16.7 per cent, which compared with 4 per cent in Bristol, according to the Royal Commission on the Health of Towns 1843/5, quoted by Daunton.[56] Progress however remained slow. In November 1862 the Improvement Commissioners reported that the water tanks of Wood Hill and Jeyes' Jetty that supplied the water for most of the poor in the town centre were contaminated with urine, while the Sanitary Committee in its first annual report in November 1856 noted that in its first year alone it had issued 860 orders relating to 692 privies, 126 drains and cesspits, 19 cases of inadequate drainage, 19 of the build-up of filth, and just four over a lack of space[57].

Foster put life expectancy at birth at 36 years for males and 38 for females, which although higher than in Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow was five years below the national average.[58] Typhus and scrofula were endemic, TB rates were twice the national average, reflecting the cramped domestic working conditions and the dust and chemicals associated with leather-working, and child mortality at 173 per thousand in the first year of life was well above the national average of 153. Bills of Mortality for the parish of All Saints gave a life expectancy for the parish of 37.6 years in 1841, compared with figures of 36.7 in London, 29 in Bristol and 25.3 in Manchester.[59]

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Predictably in the light of the dominant activity in the town and the cramped working conditions the Bills of Mortality confirm that in All Saints consumption (TB) was the most important cause of death in most years, ranging between 20 per cent and 40 per cent of the totals before 1830 and 20-30 per cent thereafter, while smallpox was a significant cause in 1829 and 1830, 1834, 1836, 1845 and 1853. The bills also indicate very high infant mortality rates, with children under two years old accounting for 30-40 per cent of all deaths annually up to 1830 and 20-30 per cent thereafter.

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55 Brown, *Northampton,* p. 217.
56 M. J. Daunton, 'Introduction', M. J. Daunton, (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History, v. 3, 1840-1950* Cambridge, 2000, p.3.
57 Reports are held in the Northamptonshire Record Office.
58 Foster, *Class Struggle.* p. 93.
59 *Bills of Mortality, Parish of All Saints.* Annual records held in the NPL.

Comparing christenings before 1848 and births thereafter against burials suggests that burials exceeded christenings in the mid-1820s, in 1830 and 1834, and (less reliably) in the mid-1840s but in other years natural increases alone could have added up to 300 a year to the total population. After 1848 births exceeded burials by around 350 a year, rising to 500 a year in the 1860s, but the excess of births varied significantly from year to year, with possible implications for the total population numbers and therefore for the demand for housing.

Workplace patterns.

The close links between the places where the shoe workers lived and worked are of great interest to academics studying the origins and character of community and place, and to planners with an interest in explaining and improving the relationships. Economic and historical geographers are equally interested in the reasons why activities took root and expanded in certain locations, and the changing emphasis on specific and quantifiable factors such as raw material sources, transport nodes, physical features and of random factors including the personal decisions of successful entrepreneurs.

Northampton as a whole remained a walking city, no more than a mile across in all directions, with no public transport system until the creation of the first tramways in 1880. Based on a study of Birmingham in 1851 Vance has emphasised zones of conflux where employees assembled for work and zones of dispersion from which they journeyed.[60] Within the patterns he identified determinative links based on the homes and jobs of male workers and contingent links between female and child workers whose employment might lie in a different direction. But this analysis may be more appropriate for a large city where segregation of residence and employment developed early and strongly. In Northampton only the two foundries, a paper mill and the railway gave rise to occupations identifiable in the census, (brewery workers were not specifically identified) and the concentrations of workers' homes close to those locations confirm the general truth of the tendency to minimise journeys to work even on this scale.

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[60] J. E. Vance, 'Housing the worker: determinative and contingent ties in nineteenth century Birmingham', *E*conomic *Geography* 43 (1967), pp. 95-127.

But the universal prevalence of male shoe workers and their families working at home until the first introduction of factory working in 1859, and the gradual transition to factory employment in the next few years would have limited the scope for the emergence of such zones. Instead the need to carry materials and finished products from home to warehouses would have created recognisable zones of movement of goods and the emergence of cellular areas where most residents shared perhaps even a single employer and generated a sense of community based on that fact. When Manfield, and Isaac, Campbell built the first large warehouses-cum-factories both chose Campbell Square where adjacent sites were available on the edge of the built-up area, and it seems reasonable to assume that they found workers and especially females, easiest to recruit in the adjacent streets. Subsequent factories were scattered at convenient intervals within the new streets that emerged from 1870 onwards. However the persistence and dominance of a single industry makes the identification of multiple zones difficult. Even the emergence of specialised activities such as closers, binders and liners, who were mainly women or children does not make identification of journeys to specialised workplaces particularly easy.

Within the town, a central business district consisting of the residences-cum-workplaces of the town's commercial and professional elite occupied the established central core and survived and prospered at or close to its peak as a community and commercial centre. Industries including brewing, iron-founding and paper-making and the handling of heavy goods such as coal concentrated in the southern quarter of the town, close to the river, canal and subsequently the railway stations and attracted housing for the fixed and casual labour forces required. The boot and shoe industries dominated the remainder of the town. Shoe-workers occupied the poorest existing housing in the courts and back-streets of the old town; the "shops" set up by small-scale masters to service a local labour force working from home could be located wherever suitable premises were available.

Conclusion

The roles of raw materials, technology, labour and capital are crucial to an understanding of the contribution of the footwear industry to the growth of Northampton and the adjacent towns and villages in the nineteenth century onwards. The rate of growth of Northampton itself reached its peak in the 1820s and slowed to around 25 per cent in succeeding decades but the total effectively doubled between 1841 and 1871, and continued at roughly the same rate for the rest of the century. Most working-class housing built before 1870 was cleared in the 1970s, together with the iconic factories on Campbell Square, but in the following three decades after 1870, the town spread further, filling the gaps between the Mounts and the Kettering and Wellingborough roads with better quality working class housing that still survives and leaping the obstacle posed by the Racecourse with the aid of the horse-drawn tram to begin the development of more middle-class housing on the far side of the barrier. New up-market housing remained confined to the edges of the Racecourse and the north side of the Billing Road.

Northampton in the mid-nineteenth century is typical of many rapidly growing industrialising towns and cities but it possessed unique features that mark it out from the textile towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire and the metal-working towns of the Midlands. The footwear industry diversified into near-by towns and villages, while its nearest large neighbour, Leicester, like Northampton, developed an important but labour-intensive footwear industry, specialising mainly in women’s shoes, but Northampton dominated the industry and the area and drew migrants from the catchment area and from further afield. The processes involved, the links they formed and the patterns they drew are the subject of the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Property.

The literature describing the vast extension of house building across Great Britain in the nineteenth century is now extensive. Against this background the purpose of this chapter and the three following is to examine the growth of the population and of the housing stock of Northampton, specifically between 1841 and 1871, to record the numbers, rateable values and location of the new houses erected each year from 1841 to 1871, and compare the variations in annual construction with other economic indicators. It will then assess the changes over time in the quality of the housing stock as measured by rateable values, the relative effects of new building and changes in the rateable values of existing housing over time, and the effects of changes in occupancy levels on rateable values per head of the population, which represent a universal proxy for housing and living standards of the inhabitants.

Population and housing

An unprecedented growth in population accompanied by rapid urbanisation and industrialisation were the main features of economic and social development in Great Britain, in parts of Western Europe and in North America throughout the nineteenth century. The population of Great Britain increased from 8.89 million in 1801 to 15.91 million in 1841 and 22.71 million in 1871.[1] Increases came in spite of continuing high mortality rates especially among young children, and especially in towns and cities as a result of overcrowding and disease.[2] The urban population nevertheless grew much faster, as a result of natural increase and migration from other towns and from the countryside. According to the 1851 census the 62 largest towns in the country contained 3,336,000 persons over the age of twenty, of whom only 1,337,000 (40 per cent) had been born in the same location.[3] Technical improvements in farming and increased imports of cheap food reduced the demand for agricultural labour, and eventually set in motion an absolute decline in rural populations, which in turn affected rural

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1 B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge, 1962, p.9.
2 R. Woods and J. Woodward, (eds.) *Urban Disease and Mortality in Nineteenth-century England*, London, 1984.
3 J. Burnett, *A Social History of Housing, 1815-1970*, London, 1980, p.7

industries, and accelerated the movement of both surplus population and industrial production to the towns, where job opportunities were plentiful. In England and Wales in 1801 only 33.8 per cent of the population lived in towns of more than 2,500 inhabitants; by 1841 it was 48.3 per cent, and by 1871 the urban population had risen five-fold in 70 years and 65.2 per cent of the total population was urbanised.[4]

The growth in urban populations triggered a substantial increase in demand for housing and for commercial, industrial and public buildings. Urbanisation led to changes in the size, shape and functions of towns and cities, the emergence of specialised zones within them, and a growing segregation of urban functions and of social classes. Traditional towns and cities consisted of a nucleus or core with a market, church, and a hierarchy of streets and side - streets providing accommodation for the commercial and professional classes and for the urban proletariat who provided the labour to maintain the urban services of the centre. Many manufacturing and service activities were located in workshops, warehouses and shops which were based in or attached to residential properties. Each town and city in itself remained a largely coherent functional whole. Only in a handful of larger settlements where existing methods of transport were inadequate to maintain a single integrated structure did multiple cellular patterns emerge within a rapidly expanding urban area.

During the nineteenth century however many towns and cities improved their transport systems, encouraging the development of central cores where commercial activities initially coexisted with declining numbers of wealthy families and growing numbers of urban poor, who provided casual labour to support the commercial nucleus. As towns expanded new districts of poor housing were run up to accommodate an expanding labour force needed to work in mills and factories. These were followed in turn by emerging districts of better housing built for and occupied by more established working groups of artisans and clerks and in larger towns by housing for an emerging middle class. Over time segregation increased as the more upwardly mobile moved progressively further afield to cleaner, less congested new suburbs specifically designed for managers and merchants who could afford to take advantage of improved and cheaper transport facilities, while the urban aristocracy and their

[4] C. M. Law, 'The Growth of Urban Population of England and Wales, 1801-1911.' *Trans IBG,* **41** 1967, Table V, p.130.

families moved increasingly into surrounding villages as yet unspoiled by the pressures of urban life.

No two cities followed identical paths however. Some towns, especially small market towns by-passed by the expanding railway system, stagnated or declined in population. Even traditional centres such as Bath and Cambridge, which failed to attract dynamic industrial activities, experienced relative decline, while many small villages and previously uninhabited places which enjoyed access to industrial raw materials such as coal and iron grew rapidly into large and largely unplanned, incoherent, industrial centres.

Property development

The demand for housing and the pursuit of profit led to a massive and largely unplanned building boom, much of it led by speculative developers in the search for quick returns. In some cases landowners attempted to develop their own estates and control the quality of housing and sustain the rental incomes, but in many cases development fell into the hands of speculators, amateur as well as professional, who bought cheap and sold dear, often extracting their profit by parcelling up sites and passing projects to individual builders and craftsmen, who in turn looked for investors to buy the properties as they were completed and for tenants to occupy them. The rewards for success were high, but so was the cost of failure. Developers who misjudged the market faced foreclosure and bankruptcy. Their activities have been graphically described by among other Dyos and Reeder.[5]

The building industry

Progress was rarely smooth. The British economy experienced considerable fluctuations throughout the first half of the nineteenth century as a result of the demands of the Napoleonic wars, the subsequent slump in demand and prices, the impact of the "Hungry Forties" culminating in the Irish potato famine, the financial crisis of 1847 and the effects of social revolutions in Europe, the railway mania of the late forties, and the erratic performance of the emergent banking system, which experienced severe financial crises in 1847, 1857 and 1866. The historian Habakkuk identified credit booms between 1852 and 1857, 1861 and

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[5] H. J. Dyos and D. A. Reeder, 'Slums and Suburbs', in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff, (eds.) *The Victorian City: images and realities*, London, 1973, pp. 376-9

1866 and 1869-73, with collapses in 1851 and 1866.[6] The construction industry in particular suffered periodic cyclical fluctuations, and severe competition from other forms of investment, including speculative outbreaks of railway mania and the rival claims of investment opportunities overseas as well as the safer opportunities offered at home by government stocks, yielding around 3 per cent a year. But the sheer pace of population growth made it inevitable that building was a major industry and employer of labour in nineteenth-century towns and cities, absorbing large amounts of capital and generating substantial investment opportunities and flows of rental income for a growing class of private landlords. Booth calculated that building employed 5.5 per cent of the labour force in 1851, rising to 5.8 per cent in 1861 and 6.3 per cent in 1871.[7] Wohl claimed that even in its most expansive phases house-building investment was unable to keep pace with population increase.[8]

Although national figures might be expected to even out the impact of local factors, the numbers of houses completed in successive years varied by 10 per cent or more upwards and downwards.[9] Totals varied from 52,600 in 1856, the first year for which figures are recorded, to around 45,000 in 1859-61, topping 64,000 in 1863, falling back to under 54,000 in 1865 and ending the decade with a steady climb, topping 70,000 in 1868 and 90,000 in 1871.[10] A change of pace in new development from 1851 may be linked to the general economic stimulus provided by the discovery of gold in California and Australia from 1848, the opportunities created by the rise of free trade, the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the boost that it gave to British business both at home and abroad, and the start of a 20-year period of gradually rising demand and prices which lasted with occasional ups and downs until the financial crisis of 1873.[11]

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6 H.J. Habakkuk, 'Free Trade and Commercial Expansion' in *Cambridge Economic History of the British Empire*, v. 2., 1940, p.803.

7 Booth's employment table summarised in G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain,1851-71,* New York, 1972, p. 79.

8 A.S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum; Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London*, 1977. p. 2.

9 B. Weber, A new index of residential construction 1838-1950 in *The Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, vol II, no.2 (1955) in Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract.* p. 241

10 Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract*, p. 239

11 The outline of major fluctuations in the British economy in this section is based largely on W.H.B. Court, *A Concise Economic History of Britain, From 1750 to Recent Times*, Cambridge, 1958, pp. 157-99.

The building cycle

Large integrated building firms like Thomas Cubitt were uncommon even in London, and in most urban centres construction of new properties came to be principally in the hands of small-scale developers and speculative builders, many of them using sub-contracted labour for specialised tasks. Building firms lived a largely hand-to-mouth existence, raising money to finance speculative building and relying on sales to refinance their loans and generate capital to embark on the next round of new construction, a process described in some detail by Rodger.[12] They built property predominantly for sale to an emerging class of small landlords, for whom property ownership was a means of diversifying income away from their own primary trades and providing surety for old age, and for the large numbers of women left as widows at a time when average life expectancy even for middle class men would have been no more than 50 years. Turnover in building firms was high, work and materials were financed largely on credit, and profitability was low. Burnett quotes Dyos in estimating overall margins as low as 0.5 per cent.[13] In Sunderland Aspinall noted substantial fluctuations in the number of building firms and the scale of their activities as the number of new homes built doubled to a peak of over 200 between 1875 and 1877 and halved again by 1886 and 1891 before rising to well over 400 in 1900.[14]

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Parry-Lewis noted the regional character of the building industry in the nineteenth century, with local as well as national influences at work.[15] Contributors to Thompson's study of suburbia noted that house-building and the proportion of empty properties, indicative of supply exceeding demand, varied significantly from decade to decade in Bromley, while the price of food was a significant factor in determining the amount of money available for accommodation.[16] In the same collection Jahn[17] recorded successive housing booms in outer west London, while Treen observed that as a general rule investment in cheap houses generated the best profits, with the returns on better-class property more volatile than on workmen's cottages.[18]

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12 R. G. Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain, 1780-1914,* Basingstoke, 1989, pp. 9-27.
13 Burnett, *Social History,* p. 24.
14 P. Aspinall, 'The internal structure of the house-building industry in nineteenth century cities', in J. H. Johnson. and C. G. Pooley, (eds.), *The structure of nineteenth century cities,* London, 1982 pp. 90-102.
15 J. Parry-Lewis, *Building Cycles and Britain's Growth,* London, 1965, p. 101.
16 F. M. L. Thompson (ed.) *The Rise of Suburbia,* (Leicester, 1982), p. 76.
17 M. Jahn, 'Suburban development in outer west London, 1850-1900' in Thompson, *Suburbia,* pp. 93-156.
18 C. Treen, in Thompson (ed.) *Suburbia,* pp. 174-5.

The development process took a variety of forms from place to place. In Leeds Treen identified five categories of owners, from land-owner to resident, and 12 sub-categories of developers, contractors, landlords, owners and occupiers.[19] Elswhere Scott described the process of property development, with potential building land passing from land owners via developers, often intermediaries who could be local businessmen or speculators, and on to the actual builders, who could be master builders employing teams of workmen on a permanent basis, or sub-contracting their requirements to large numbers of speculative builders and craftsmen, with most firms building five or six houses or fewer at a time.[20]

At the local level there seems to have been no lack of finance available to the construction industry, but sources were generally insecure and house-building was a risky business. Daunton concluded that "speculative builders proved notoriously unsuccessful in recognising the early signs of downturns in the housing market, the result being a highly cyclical industry with periodic phases of substantial oversupply and building bankruptcies."[21] To succeed, new housing had to be built down to a standard based on the rents that working families could afford at a time when trade could be volatile, earnings were erratic and the risk of illness and injury and loss of earnings was far higher than present generations can imagine. Many ambitious developments failed through setting housing standards higher than the market could reach.

Most new builders worked on a hand-to-mouth basis borrowing funds for new developments mainly from solicitors representing local investors and subsequently from early building societies, against the security of houses built but not yet sold. Rodger noted that the majority of mortgages were privately arranged and could be recalled at any time with the principal repayable in full at short notice, with collateral in the form of buildings in the case of default, and an interest rate normally 1 per cent above the yield on Consols. These terms cut both ways. Borrowers had the use of capital and also the right to renegotiate a loan if it was advantageous to do so. But any inability to renegotiate loans on call or at maturity caused an abrupt cessation of building and led inexorably to bankruptcy for small and speculative

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19 Treen, *Suburbia*, pp. 160-1.

20 P. Scott, 'The evolution of Britain's urban built environment', in M. Daunton, (ed.), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, v.3, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 498-499.

21 M. J. Daunton, *A Property-Owning Democracy: Housing in Britain.* London 1987.

builders for whom completion, sale and repayment provided the lifeline to continuity in the industry.[22] As Dennis observed, building rates declined because individual builders went bankrupt, not because credit was denied to surviving firms.[23]

Developers naturally attempted to promote the building of quality houses, in order to maximise values and rental incomes, but many developers misjudged the market and attempts to maintain standards through covenants often failed, leading to declining house values, or forced tenants into sharing housing and sub-letting, as described by Dennis.[24]. Most often the scale of development was initially small and haphazard rather than planned, reflecting the small size of individual fields and of the average plot developers could afford, as well as the small scale of most building firms. Development was highly concentrated to make the maximum use of available space and in the absence of cheap wheeled transport to reduce the distances travelled to a minimum. Most nineteenth-century developments in a wide range of towns were small in scale, averaging maybe six houses.[25] New working-class housing was frequently constructed in short terraces and blind courts, often erected in back gardens and burgess plots, giving housing densities as high as 100 dwellings per acre.[26]

Housing quality

Social reformers such as Edwin Chadwick, commentators such as Friedrich Engels, James Phillips Kay, Peter Gaskell and Henry Mayhew, and writers such as Charles Dickens almost inevitably focused on the poor quality of housing for the urban poor, the overcrowding, lack of light and air, the inadequacy or complete absence of water supply and means of sewage disposal, and the resulting high levels of disease and mortality, especially child mortality. Attempts to clear congested "rookeries" that acted as hot-beds of crime, and the coming of the railways in particular led to the wholesale demolition of slum housing and the further blighting of adjacent streets. In many cases little or no effort was made to rehouse the urban poor. The concept of "5 per cent philanthropy" developed in the 1850s and 1860s to attract private capital to provide decent housing and "model dwellings" for the urban poor was

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22 Rodger, *Housing.* p.25.
23 R. J. Dennis, *English industrial cities of the nineteenth century,* Cambridge, 1984, p. 151.
24 Dennis, *English industrial cities,* pp. 159-64.
25 Dennis, *English industrial cities,* pp. 162-3.
26 Dennis, *English industrial cities,* pp. 151-5.

limited to major cities and largely failed to cope with demand.[27] Too often the ownership of slum property fell largely into the hands of a specialist class of landlords, letting houses by the floor and by the room to maximise returns and enforcing payment through an army of agents and rent collectors.

The conditions in which the industry operated conspired to produce a chaotic pattern of small-scale and haphazard developments. Rodger noted that "these features of the building industry left an indelible mark on low-income housing. Many streets took years to complete and inferior materials and workmanship produced a stock of damp, insanitary and pestilential houses…."[28] Much new building took place in courts built in plots behind the houses in the main streets, often accessed by tunnel entrances. Back-to-back housing was a standard feature of much new construction especially in the large industrial cities.

Suburbs

The picture was not one of universal gloom however. The quality of new housing generally improved over time, especially from 1850 onwards, in response to better methods of producing bricks and glass, reductions in duty, gradually rising real wages and the emergence of an artisan elite and increasing numbers of service and clerical workers and small tradesmen, identified by for example Crossick and reflected in the increased rateable value of new housing. Rodger concluded that "for the half century of most rapid urbanisation (1800-1850) the workforce had no more to spend on rent and received less space for it. Conversely between 1850 and 1914 cumulative improvements in real wages…. were more than any other factor decisive in advancing the housing condition of the majority of Victorians. During these years the overall real wage increase was approximately 75-80 per cent."[29] Burnett also challenged the assertion that the quality of most new housing for the urban working class was generally poor, and divided commentators into "pessimists" and "optimists."[30] But virtually all commentators in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been handicapped by difficulties in quantifying improvements. Burnett himself had to limit his studies to a

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27 Rodger, *Housing*, pp.45-6.
28 Rodger, *Housing.* p.26.
29 Rodger, *Housing in Urban Britain, 1780-1914.* p.10.
30 Burnett, *Social History*, pp.55-56.

classification of working class housing into cellar dwellings, lodging houses, tenements, back-to-back housing and "through" housing, supplemented by sporadic data on building costs, rents, and average occupancy levels. The concept of average rateable values per house and per head developed in this thesis represents an alternative method of measurement.

The emergence of a significant middle class and an increasing differentiation between the living standards of craftsmen and unskilled labourers and in the standard of housing they could afford, in turn led to the spread of a range of new housing designed for the rapidly growing urban population of expanding towns, including Northampton. New housing became increasingly standardised but subtle variations in housing size and standards from street to street catered for a range of potential residents. Insistent demands for new houses were accompanied by an increasing scale of building activity, for which new sites on the edges of the built-up area were necessary. It can be argued that the availability of cheap horse-drawn transport provided a vital stimulus to the growth of suburbs from the 1820s onwards, initially in the larger cities, but as Thompson pointed out, the suburb often came first and public transport, initially in the form of horse-drawn omnibuses, then followed.[31]

There is no doubt that the growth of a middle class in search of a more congenial family home and able to afford better quality housing and the cost of daily transport to work greatly encouraged the process of suburbanisation, which in some cases became a positive "flight to the suburbs". By the middle of the century small-scale but recognisable suburbs had become established even in towns of modest size such as Northampton. Kellett noted that these suburbs attracted incomers direct as well as movers-out from the centre.[32] Suburbs were not however guaranteed to maintain their attractions, as Dyos's acclaimed study of the piecemeal development and very mixed fortunes of the London suburb of Camberwell emphasises.[33]

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31 F. M. L. Thompson, *The rise of suburbia,* Leicester, 1982, p. 13.
32 J. R. Kellett, *The Impact of railways on Victorian Cities,* London, 1969.
33 H. J. Dyos, *Victorian Suburb: a Study of the Growth of Camberwell,* Leicester, 1961.

Property as an investment

While property development was a risky and cyclical business the demand for housing ensured that the housing stock expanded substantially over time and real property provided a growing asset class especially in the hands of local tradesmen, their dependents and their advisers. The rate-books show that some properties remained in the ownership of the initial builders, either as a deliberate investment or because of delays in finding suitable buyers, especially where speculative building was involved. But only a small proportion was bought by intended owner-occupiers. Even in the main streets of towns such as Northampton only around 30 per cent of properties were owned and occupied by the same individual, and in the back-streets and side-streets virtually all the houses were tenanted. Even as new building of rather better quality began to emerge, owner-occupation rarely exceeded 10 per cent of the total. The great majority of properties were built to order or were sold on to investors who bought and held property as income streams rather than in the expectation of capital gain. Property did however change hands, not least because of the fresh opportunities provided by substantial additions to the housing stock. On balance ownership turned over every five years, more frequently in the poorer streets, although there is equal evidence of some long-term holdings stretching over periods of ten to twenty years. The rate books show that in Northampton the turnover of owners was much lower than in the case of tenants (see pages 136-7), but the census enumerators' books show that the average age of property investors was high, at a time when life expectancy was low, and many properties passed through the hands of executors acting for widows and dependent children before being sold on. The average life of a property built in the early to middle years of the nineteenth century was around 100 years, during which time it could change hands many times.

Property provided a substantial outlet for savings in the form of mortgages and leases as well as direct investment in houses, as a means of protecting capital and generating flows of rental income that could be managed with relatively low levels of risk. Investors in property were mainly lower-middle class tradesmen, looking for secure and largely local outlets for their savings as a source of income and security for themselves or their widows in the event of their death or the failure of their primary businesses.[34]

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[34] P. Scott, 'The evolution of Britain's urban built environment', in *Cambridge Urban History of Britain, v*..3, *1840-1950* , pp. 497-498

Housing then as now had the relative appeal of bricks and mortar at a time when the yield on government securities was low and the risks of alternative investments were high. Speculative investors with large amounts of capital in the mid-nineteenth century had the option of investment overseas, in shares floated on the Stock Exchange, and especially railway shares. The comfortably-off could invest in government securities with a guaranteed yield and gilt-edged security. For small investors in provincial towns property and mortgages offered the prospect of higher yields and correspondingly higher risks. For many years mortgage rates of around 5 per cent seem to have been the norm, and returns on property needed to be rather higher. Treen quotes rental returns of 8 per cent gross advertised in Leeds during the 1860s before costs, which reduced net returns to 5-5.5 per cent.[35] He also quotes James Hole, a contemporary housing reformer, who observed that the smallest houses produced the largest percentage profits, a pair of back-to-back cottages producing 20 per cent more rental per ground surface occupied than a through-house did.

But property was not an entirely risk-free investment. At any one time landlords could be adversely affected by an over-supply of new properties, and a drop in demand for housing, leading to vacancy rates that in Northampton rose to 7 per cent across the town in 1861 accordng to contemporary rate books (see Table 1). Landlords were sometimes forced to accept rent arrears or to reduce rents to attract and retain tenants, and often to repair properties at every change of tenancy, a nuisance even when refurbishment could mean little more than a new coat of whitewash. Investments in housing were however usually local, investments could be monitored by solicitors and the grubby details of collecting rent, serving notice and enforcing evictions could be handled for a price by rent-collectors and agents. In the circumstances however rental yields needed to be at least 6 per cent on properties with settled and reliable tenancies, and substantially more on poorer properties where turnover of tenants and the risks inherent in owning property for rent and the costs of collection were likely to be significantly higher.

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[35] C. Treen, 'The process of suburban development in north Leeds, 1870-1914', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.) *The rise of suburbia*, Leicester, 1982, p.175,

Sources of finance

Information on the sources of finance for property development and investment in Northampton is patchy, although there is no reason to believe the local pattern differed greatly from the national pattern, where properties were usually developed, built and owned in large part on borrowed money. Banks in Northampton had a very chequered history in the early nineteenth century. Victor Hatley listed several failures in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and in the years just after the legalisation of joint-stock banking in the provinces in 1836 there were only two commercial banks, the Northamptonshire Union Bank (formerly Percival's Bank in the Drapery), and the Northamptonshire Banking Company, which acquired premises also in the Drapery in 1865.[36] Both these banks owned property in the town at times, sometimes over a period of years, although it is not immediately obvious whether these were deliberate investments or properties acquired as a result of foreclosures.

The Savings Bank, with substantial premises in St Giles Street acted as a vehicle for personal savings, but there is no evidence of direct involvement in property finance. Building societies also played an important role. The versatile Thomas Grundy of Commercial Street, variously a brewer, iron-founder and speculative builder who also owned a brickyard, issued a printed prospectus, dated 12 May 1836 and now preserved in the archives of the Nationwide Building Society for the (previously unrecorded) Northampton Freehold Building Society, intended to finance the development of 300 new houses, each with a value of £135 to be built on the extra-parochial land sold by the executors of Robert Harding two years earlier. The first ten houses were to be let as finished and the rents added to the society's funds. It required an initial deposit of £1 a share followed by monthly subscriptions of £2, or 10s a week. A later handwritten note on the prospectus comments, "This society was not successful and the few members who had paid their subscriptions were repaid."[37]

The Northampton Freehold Land Society

The Northampton Town and County Benefit Building Society (also known as the Northampton Freehold Land Society) itself an ancestor of the Nationwide Building Society,

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36 V.A. Hatley, *Phoenix in the Drapery: the story of Percival's Bank,* (Northampton, 1966).

37 Uncatalogued document held in the records of the Nationwide Building Society..

was established on 12 December 1848 following the model of the Birmingham Freehold Land Society, and was much more successful, perhaps because its subscriptions were more affordable. The society was established to promote property ownership and voting qualifications in support of the Liberal party and played an active part in acquiring land, collecting savings and allocating building plots, which are faithfully recorded in the rate books. Its prospectus was overtly political in tone, while stressing the advantages of buying land at wholesale prices, saving what it claimed was up to 70 per cent of the retail price of building land. Thomas Grundy was again a prominent member and vice-president. According to contemporary records members who subscribed 1s 6d a week for five years (a total of £19 10s) could purchase a plot worth 25s a year, a return of nearly 6.5 per cent, which they could use to build their own homes or cultivate as a garden.[38] When land was purchased plots were allocated to members in good standing in order of seniority and paid for with the aid of a mortgage from the Society. A plan drawn up by the surveyor William Law in 1850 available in the Northampton Public Library names the owners of 95 sites on the Society's development on either side of the Barrack Road, while successive rate books list the owners and the point at which actual houses were built as well as their subsequent ownership.

Members earned interest of 4 per cent a year and borrowers were charge 5 per cent on the money they borrowed to buy their homes. Around three quarters of the initial developments were taken up by working-class men although membership was open to all and the Society subsequently gained a reputation for attracting members who considered themselves superior to the poorest classes. The Society was proud of the quality of housing it generated, in stark contrast to the condition of the housing in the older part of the town and especially in the low-lying streets close to the river, where "typical houses consisted of just two rooms, one above the other, with a back room and privy built on. In 1871 it was reported that the new type of cottage had a 15 feet frontage, two or three storeys, with two rooms on each floor and a basement used as a coal cellar. Elsewhere however as late as 1889 the Medical Officer of Health described housing conditions as palpably insanitary and unfitted for human beings.[39]

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[38] Contemporary handbill quoted by Brown, *Northampton,* p. 31. Cf. S. D. Chapman and J. Bartlett, 'The contribution of Building Clubs and Freehold Land Society to Working-Class Housing in Birmingham', in S. D. Chapman (ed.) *The History of Working-class Housing,* Newton Abbott 1971, pp. 223-246 and especially pp. 235-46.

[39] This paragraph is based on Jane Evans, *A Baker's Tale,* Northampton, 2000, pp. 69-91, a history of the firm founded by Thomas Adams, a native of Flore, and a prominent early member of the Freehold Land Society.

The land acquired on either side of the Kingsthorpe Road and in Holt's Close in 1850 was developed as Freehold Street and St. George's Place and Terrace.[40] By 1853 the Society had close to 500 members and in 1860 it purchased a further site on the remaining extra-parochial land along the Billing Road, subsequently developed as Upper and Lower Thrift Street. By 1871 the society was poised for a fresh development between the Racecourse and the north side of the Kettering Road. According to a poster for the annual general meeting in January 1871 it then had 12 directors and 176 shareholders, many of them leading lights in the town, and whose names and addresses are listed on the poster. If it financed all the properties built on the land it acquired it would have been responsible for perhaps 40 per cent of the housing built in the town between 1850 and 1880. Not all the houses built went into individual ownership or were occupied by their owners. But by the time of the 36th annual general meeting in 1885 the Society was able to boast of "more working people living in their own freehold houses in Northampton than any other town of its size in England," while at the centenary celebrations in 1948 Alderman Glenn, a local worthy and builder, claimed that in its actions and influence the society had pre-dated town planners by almost 50 years. The rival Northamptonshire Permanent Benefit Building Society founded in 1851 to promote ownership among Tory Party supporters was significantly less active and successful.

Apart from the Freehold Land Society property development and investment may well have been largely financed by private mortgage capital channelled by local solicitors and recycled by the sale of properties to a class of private investors willing to hold property as a store of value and an alternative to investment in trade or in the limited range of financial instruments available at the time. Monthly average yields on Consolidated Loan Stock issued by the government and the main alternative investment for small investors ranged from lows of 2.97 per cent in December 1844 and 2.96 per cent in December 1852, to highs of 3.67 per cent in April 1848 and 3.42 per cent in October 1855.[41]

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[40] This paragraph is based on Northampton Town & County Benefit Building Society, *A Century of Service*, Northampton, 1948, pp. 3-23 and on contemporary unclassified documents held in storage by the Nationwide Building Society.

[41] See Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract,* pp. 456-9.

The cost of mortgage finance must have been consistently higher however. According to contemporary records loans taken out by the Northampton Improvement Commissioners[42] to finance their activities carried interest rates of 4 per cent (May 1847), 4.5 per cent (1863-66 and 1872-73) and 5 per cent (1844-45, 1855-62 and 1867), and documentary evidence from private mortgages held in the Northamptonshire Record Office suggests that yields on private mortgage finance may well have been 5 per cent fixed, while the (rather scanty) evidence from rental incomes and selling prices of property suggests that rental yields of around 7 per cent were expected. One specific transaction records the sale by the Borough Council in 1851 of four properties in St. Katharine's Street with a rateable value of £3 each and a gross estimated rental of £5 each for £255, which implies a gross yield of 7.84 per cent.

Rate books as a measure of value and a record of development.

The rate books list only the heads of households and the owners of properties, their rateable value and in parish rate books gross estimated rentals, along with records of payments made and arrears due. They do however provide some anecdotal evidence of changes in the balance of population and the supply of housing in the records of persistently empty properties, and periodic comments on reasons for the failure to obtain rate payments. These footnotes are noticeably more frequent between 1859 and 1861, a period which coincides with the upheavals caused by the decision of leading shoe wholesalers to impose the introduction of basic shoe-making machinery.

Rateable values alone present a universal measure of property values for taxation purposes, but estimating the commercial value of the property market presents obvious difficulties. The only other universal indicator is the gross estimated rental which accompanies the rateable value of every property listed in the parish rate books. The precise relationships between gross estimated rentals and rateable values are not entirely clear, but the rate books show that in Northampton rateable values were at discounts to gross estimated rentals for residential properties and the relationship varied over time and between the best and worst types of property. Discounts were lower throughout and narrowed in the richer streets between the

[42] Northampton Improvement Commissioners, *Minute books*, (for the relevant years). Eleven uncatalogued manuscript volumes, covering 1778-1875, are held in the Northamptonshire Record Office.

crisis year of 1861 and the relatively prosperous year of 1870, while discounts widened slightly between the two dates in the poorer residential streets. The residential properties in Sheep Street, a major commercial street occupied mainly by established town merchants for example generated a G.E.R. of £1,377.50 and were rated at £1,172.75 in May 1861, a discount of 15 per cent, rising to a G.E.R. of £2,540.50 and a rateable value of £2,262.75, a discount of 11 per cent in December, 1870. Upmarket residential streets of Langham Place and Primrose Hill stood at discounts of 14 per cent and 21 per cent respectively in 1861, just over 10 per cent and 16 per cent a decade later. On the edge of the commercial core residential properties in mid-market Silver Street were rated at a discount of 21 per cent in 1860, just over 25 per cent in 1870, rather less favoured properties in residential Paradise Row recorded discounts of 25 per cent in 1861 and 24 per cent in 1870. The poorest properties however carried the highest discounts, with Cliff's, Johnson's and Ratnett's Rows at around 25 per cent in 1860 and 30 per cent in 1870, while the poorest properties of all, in Salt Box Row, stood at discounts of one third in both dates.[43]

The differences between richer and poorer properties may reflect the fact that landlords were responsible for paying the rates on properties worth £8 a year or less, but suggests that the gross estimated rental of a £5 rated property would be around 3s (15p) a week. In the context of an estimated weekly income for a shoe maker of 20s (£1) a week plus a few shillings from family members that implies a rent payment of around one eighth of income. Applied across the board it would mean a full-time landlord, after meeting rate payments, maintenance costs and periodic vacancies, might need between 25 and 40 properties with a combined rateable value of between £100 and £200 to generate a comfortable rental income of up to five times the income of a family living at subsistence level. Relatively few landlords would come into this category in nineteenth-century Northampton, but hundreds more would derive a comfortable income from the sector, and many would be able to live on the proceeds.

Building in Northampton, 1841-71

The extensive range of surviving rate books for Northampton make it possible to augment the general picture of expansion with a detailed assessment of the numbers and value of new

[43] Poor rate books for St Sepulchre's parish, 10 May, 1861 and 30 December, 1870.

buildings erected each year. It is not possible to determine the exact dates at which new properties were first occupied and became subject to the payment of rates, not least because the appearance of new rate books was not uniform or fixed at the beginning and end of each calendar year, and each book was visibly subject to additions and amendments over the time it was current. But it is possible to estimate with considerable accuracy the year in which new properties were first rated, not least because new building does appear to have been seasonal, with the great majority of completions coming in the spring and summer.

Northampton in 1841 was a town still in the early stages of transition, but the population had already tripled from 7,020 in 1801 to 21,242 in 1841 set in 1,520 acres, accommodated in 4,360 houses, 342 of them empty at the time of the census.[44] They can be conveniently grouped into 212 separate streets and courts, including up to 40 new collections of small terraced houses, rows and courts which had already been added to the core of the eighteenth - century market town. By January 1844, when rate books covering the whole area first become available, the town contained just over 4,400 separate dwellings together with 86 warehouses, 33 workshops, 16 offices, five buildings described as premises, seven wharves, 20 yards (including brickyards), 12 maltings, three breweries, three banks, two foundries, a tan yard and a number of curriers' shops, together with 60 shops, 34 bake-houses and five slaughterhouses, most of which were located in mixed residential and commercial premises.

The area of the town roughly doubled in three decades. In 1841 the building line included the central core and fingers of built-up land running out along the main roads, leaving considerable areas of undeveloped land along the river margins and within the built-up area. Over the next three decades new suburbs grew on the north, north-east and eastern sides of the town and the building line crept closer to the river on the western side. Many but not all the intervening spaces were filled in, but as late as 1871 some land on the north side of the Billing Road where property was liable to parish rates, and on the south side, much of it owned by the town council and subject to restrictive covenants, was still being filled in.

[44] The figures derived from the census differ slightly from those based on the rate-books, which cover slightly different periods, ending in December, 1871.

Table 1 shows the growth of the town in terms of population and housing. The enumerators' books and rate books available and consulted are listed in the Appendix, pages 272-87. The numbers for the census years are derived from the censuses and the rateable values from the nearest equivalent rate books, up to and including the full year for 1871[45]. Rateable values for St. Peter's and the extra-parochial districts in 1841 are based on the values on 1 January, 1844, the first date for which complete figures for rateable values are available and the population figures are interpolated. Between 1841 and 1871 the resident population, excluding the occupants of hospitals and gaols, the work-house, convent, barracks and boarding schools, grew by 90 per cent and the number of houses by 80 per cent to 7,912, by which time it included 225 empty properties and around 200 mixed residential and commercial properties. Over the same period there were considerable changes in the structure of the housing stock in terms of rateable value, in part the result of changes in the valuation of existing properties and partly the result of the new properties being added to the housing stock. A few properties were demolished, mainly very poor houses in three courts pulled down to make way for new building in St Giles Street, College Street and Mount Pleasant, and two courts in lower Bridge Street made way for brewery extensions. Other houses were pulled down in order to expand the foundry and the brewery and a handful of the most valuable properties in town were demolished to make way for the building of the new town hall in St. Giles Square. A further dozen or so properties, especially in Gold Street, were converted from residential to commercial use over the period.

The increasing ratio of population to total housing in the 1840s shown in Table 1 was due to the relatively slow rate of new building, resulting in a 60 per cent fall in the number of empty properties between 1841 and 1851, followed by an accelerated pace of building in the 1850s culminating in a rise in empty housing to over 500 units in 1861 or 7.5 per cent of the total housing stock. This was followed by a period of slower and more erratic construction in the 1860s and a perceptible tightening in the supply of housing, with just 225 empty houses or 2.88 per cent of the total stock at the time of the 1871 census. The number of new properties recorded in the rate books reached a peak of 307 in calendar 1871 alone,[46] a period which saw the start of mass-production of working-class dwellings in several parts of the town, off

[45] See Appendix (pp. 272-87) for a list of all available rate books, and those consulted.
[46] This total runs to the end of the year, and produces a significantly higher number of dwellings than appear in the table based on the census of 1871.

the Barrack Road in the north and the streets between the Wellingborough and Billing Roads in the east.

The numbers, rateable values and locations of new buildings and annual variations in each successive year have been mapped in Fig. 8 and details summarised in Table 2. (The absence of rate books for St. Peter's and the extra-parochial districts makes separate identification of new building in 1842 and 1843 impossible, while rateable values throughout have been standardised to 1871 and the number of new houses built runs to the end of 1871). The map series in Fig. 8 show that some infilling continued and multiple sites across the town were the norm, but the bulk of new building was increasingly concentrated on a succession of sites on the outskirts of the old town, especially to the north and east. The overwhelming impression given by the map sequence however is of scattered and piecemeal building. Even short streets containing on average 20-30 houses took up to 20 years to complete.

New building at first took place only slowly, averaging around 50-60 additions to the housing stock each year between 1841 and 1850 with a low point of 44 new houses in 1849. The annual increase rose above 100 properties for the first time in 1851, when 48 houses were under construction on the night of the census alone. New building then accelerated but progress was not uniform over the following two decades. New construction in the fifties averaged around 150 a year, but varied from 115 in 1851 and 1859 to over 200 in 1857 and 1858. In the census year of 1861 165 new houses were built, including 58 under construction at the time of the census itself. New building slowed in the first half of the 1860s to around 125 a year, but accelerated again from 1866 to a peak of 307 in calendar 1871, including 63 in progress at the time of the census. The number of sites at which new houses were built rose only marginally, from around 20 in the 1840s to 30-40 a year in the 1850s but declined again to around 30 a year in the 1860s as the scale of operations rose from around two or three houses to an average of half a dozen, and to a dozen or more houses in some individual streets, notably Gladstone Terrace.

Numbers alone do not tell the full story. The composition of the new construction varied, with a larger number of up-market properties rated at £20 a year or more in 1844 and 1846, 1849 and 1850 and consistently from 1858 onwards, while little new housing rated at less

than £5 was erected after 1851. Contemporary rate books show that the combined rateable values of the new properties added each year varied over time, ranging from around £600 a year in the 1850s, topping £1,000 for the first time in 1851 and averaging around £1,300 until 1857, followed by a burst of activity in 1857 and 1858, then a run of erratic years from 1859 to 1867, ranging from £2,123 in 1864 to just £661 in 1865, and a final surge to £3,262 in calendar 1871. The average rateable value of additions to the housing stock was around £9 between 1842 and 1857, rising to around £11 a unit from 1858 onwards (see Table 2).

Further light on the variable pace and scale of development is available from the applications to the Northampton Improvement Commissioners, kept in the Northamptonshire Record Office, which cover the period from 1860 to 1872.[47] Over 12 years to 1871 they list 852 separate applications for 1,658 individual projects, of which 1,167 related to houses and cottages. The number of individual applications fell to lows of 54 in 1861, 53 in 1865 and 64 in 1870, between highs of 84 in 1860, 68 in 1863, and 85 in 1869 before reaching to a peak of 107 in 1871. Applications for individual houses and cottages fell from 144 in 1860 to a low of 33 in 1863 before recovering to a peak of 229 in 1871. Applications did not always specify the number of houses involved but appear to have been mainly for individual properties in the early years before reaching a peak in 1871 with one application to build "30 to 40 houses in Gladstone Terrace." The Borough Council maintained its insistence on minimum housing standards in the areas that it owned along the south side of the Billing Road, and the Freehold Land Society's rules did not allow the building of licenced premises, but there is no evidence that applications were routinely refused, or that development followed an overall plan.

Re-rating and de-rating

The rate books show that between 1841 and 1871 the total number of houses subject to the payment of rates almost doubled, from 4,360 units in 1841 to 5,009 in 1851, 6,648 in 1861 and 7,806 in 1871, and the average value of newly-built houses increased from around £5 in 1841 to perhaps £9 in 1871, but new building was heavily concentrated on middle-range properties, mostly terraced houses. The value of new housing was not the only factor at work however. Average rateable values were also affected by gradual changes in the rateable

[47] *Northampton Borough Council Register of Building Plans, 1816-1914,* Unclassified records held by the NRO. In three volumes, including 1 (i): *Applications to the Improvement Commissioners, vol. 2, 1860-72.* Any earlier volume has not survived.

values of existing properties. Over the years there were substantial changes, as shown by Figs. 9-12. Between 1841 and 1844 alone average rateable values rose by up to 20 per cent in many of the mid-valued streets in All Saints but this was balanced by declines in the main core streets, perhaps reflecting a reduction in the level of rates on the richer properties resulting from the extension in 1844 of the improvement rate burden to extra-parochial districts previously exempt from all rates.

Between 1844 and 1851 rateable values rose by up to 20 per cent in the core streets, with selective rises over 40 per cent in the Horsemarket, Gas Street and Cow Lane, but this was balanced by reductions in many low and middle-rated streets. Between 1851 and 1861 rises in the valuation of core streets and on the eastern outskirts were offset by stability and modest declines affecting some of the better streets in St. Giles and St. Sepulchre parishes, as well as many poorer streets across the town. In the decade from 1861 to 1871 rises averaged around 20 per cent in the expanding core, and up to 40 per cent in some streets, including the south side of Billing Road and between the Barrack Road and Bailiff Street, attributable in part to the building of newer and more valuable properties, but there were declines in some peripheral streets including Upper and Lower Harding streets, Great Russell Street and the New Town estate, in most cases the result of new building of cheaper properties.

Over the whole period from 1841 to 1871 rateable values rose by more than 20 per cent in much of All Saints parish, including the low-lying courts clustered at the lower end of Bridge Street. But they rose by more than 40 per cent in the important core streets of Gold Street, the Drapery and the Market Square. Rises in excess of 40 per cent also took place on the eastern edge of town where the Wellingborough and Kettering roads were being built up. In contrast rateable values fell in more than half the older streets in the northern half of the town. Between 1844 and 1871 values rose by around 40 per cent in the richest core streets (and in the court dwellings as well as the street houses in Bridge Street) and along the Wellingborough and Kettering Roads, while only a handful of streets registered unchanged or reduced values, in the latter case mainly attributable to new building changing the character of the streets.

Rateable values per house

If housing is assessed by numbers rather than streets, the number of houses in the lowest value category actually rose from 42.7 per cent to 47.2 per cent in 1844 but this appears to be the result of the de-rating of many houses in the poorer parts of town. Total numbers of the lowest-grade houses changed little between 1844 and 1861 at just over 2,000, but between 1861 and 1871 the number of houses rated below £5 fell back by around one fifth as a result of the de-rating of more than 400 properties. A detailed study of the structure of the housing stock in 1871 shows a very wide range of valuations, but there were still around 150 houses valued at less than £3 a year, 500 under £4, 650 less than £5, another 1300 below £6, 900 between £6 and £7, and 1,250 between £7 and £8. A further 1,200 were rated at between £8 and £11. There were several hundred houses worth £12-13, £15-16, £17 to £18 and £27 to £28, and just over 100 properties rated at £70 a year or more.

Rateable values by street.

The combination of new building and changes in the rateable values of the existing housing stock gradually changed the structure of the housing stock; few properties rated below £5 were built after 1850, but relatively few new large properties rated at £20 or more were erected; the bulk of the development was concentrated on housing for artisans rated at between £5 and £10. Figs. 13-17 show the proportions of houses in each street rated in four value bands in 1841[48] and again in 1844, 1851, 1861 and 1871, showing the ongoing dominance of high-value housing in the central core and radiating streets, and subsequently on the northern and southeastern outskirts, the prevalence of the poorest housing in side-streets and courts in the older parts of town and the gradual emergence of good working-class and middle-class developments and the extension of the highest-rated housing radiating out from the central core.

The overall effect on the structure of the housing stock can also be seen in Table 3. In 1841 well over half the houses in the back streets and side streets and along the eastern extension of the town were valued at £5 or less. Even in secondary streets such as Newland,

[48] In the absence of contemporary data 1844 values have been used for the extra-parochial districts and St. Peter's.

Horsemarket and lower Bridge Street between 30 and 50 per cent were in the lowest category. But houses in the next grade, between £5 and £10, predominated in the newer extensions along Grafton Street, Bailiff and Great Russell streets. Houses rated between £10 and £20 were prominent in most of the outer core streets, and properties rated at £20 and more accounted for more than half the properties in the inner core. Between 1841 and 1851 21 new streets were added, but streets with average values under £8 made up 70 per cent of the total on both dates.

Between 1851 and 1871 a total of 84 new streets was added to the town; of these only three were rated on average at less than £5 in 1871, a further 13 were rated at between £5 and £7, another 42 at between £8 and £10 and 26 at £10 or more. As a result by 1871 only three of the 69 streets in the town rated at under £5 were new, compared with five out of 38 streets rated at between £5 and £6, eight out of the 36 streets rated between £6 and £7, and almost half (42 of the 94) streets rated between £7 and £10 but only 26 of the 89 streets rated at £10 and over. By 1871 houses rated under £5 were confined largely to isolated back streets and courts, more than half the houses in side streets were rated between £5 and £10, properties worth up to £20 made up over half the properties in the newest developments on the outer extension of the Kingsthorpe Road, and on the Mounts and the infill streets between the Wellingborough and Billing roads. Average rateable values per house exceeded £20 however in a star shaped pattern of streets radiating from the Market Square, extending north along Sheep Street to Royal Terrace, the first purpose-built up-market residential terrace, built in the 1830s, west along Gold Street, south along upper Bridge Street, north-east along Abington Street, east beyond St Giles Street along the Billing Road, south-east along Derngate and Waterloo Terrace.

As the number of streets increased the make-up of the housing stock changed; Table 3 shows that streets containing the cheapest housing with average rateable values of less than £5 fell from around one third of the total in 1841 and 1851 to a quarter in 1861 and one fifth in 1871. Streets of houses in the £5 to £10 value band made up 40 per cent of the total in 1841 and 1851 rising to just under a half by 1861 and just over a half by 1871, Streets rated at £8 to £9 increased from under 3 per cent in 1841, to 5 per cent in 1851, 7 per cent in 1861 and almost 12 per cent in 1871, while streets with houses rated at £9-£10 rose from 2-3 per cent in 1841

and 1851 to 5 per cent then 7 per cent in the next two decades. Streets of middle-class housing rated between £10 and £20 increased from just over one eighth in 1841 and 1851 to 15 per cent in 1861 and 16 per cent in 1871, while streets of housing valued at £20 and more showed least change, ranging from just over 10 per cent per cent in 1841 and 1851, falling below 9 per cent in 1861 and edging above 10 per cent again by 1871.

Figs. 18 and 19 show the average rateable values per street in 1851 and in 1871 including the continuing dominance of the poorest housing in the courts and back-streets of the old town, the consolidation of the central core, the gradual growth of up-market residential housing along the Kingsthorpe and Billing roads and the emergence of blocks of housing targeted at factory workers and artizans on the northern and eastern side of town.

Northampton in 1871

A reference back to Table 1 shows that the net effect of new building and rating changes meant that average rateable values per house fell slightly from £10.68 in 1841 to £10.01 in 1851 and £10.03 in 1861 before rising to £11.13 in 1871. Houses in the extra-parochial district were unrated before the introduction of the improvement rate in January 1844, rate books for the small parish of St Peter are not available before 1844. The figures used for 1841 therefore assume that rateable values of about 500 houses in 1841 were the same as in 1844. If actual rateable values for 1844 across the town are used, average rateable values were unchanged at £10.01 in both 1844 and 1851. But it is certain that the housing make-up of the town had changed significantly, as a result of changes in the rateable value of the housing stock, per house and per head of the inhabitants, and the heavy emphasis in new construction on better than average quality but still largely working-class housing. Newer streets in the east and north were perceptibly better than the older streets in the west and south but the star-shaped pattern of housing values established by 1841 remains clear, with the best housing routinely valued at more than four times and in many cases ten times the value of the poorest properties in the back streets and courts.

Population change by street.

While the structure of the housing stock was evolving the resident populations were also changing. Over time the total numbers of inhabitants in individual streets varied in response to changes in the overall balance between the supply and demand for housing and changes in the social structure of the population. The balance of housing and population changed accordingly, in Northamton and elsewhere. In many parts of the UK a mismatch between the available housing stock and the demand for accommodation from families and from single individuals looking for lodgings was a major cause of the over-crowding and urban blight which turned many properties into slums in the nineteenth century.[49] The worst examples occurred in large cities where expansion and competition for space led to the sub-division of existing housing, the use of unsuitable areas such as cellars, the over-burdening of shared facilities such as yards and privies and a progressive deterioration in housing standards; and also where towns and cities were prevented from expanding, either by physical limitations such as hills and flood plains or by the refusal of freeholders to sell land for development on acceptable terms. New building was almost everywhere erratic and could not have kept uniform pace with the growth of demand for housing, swollen by the influx of families and individuals from outside the town. Individual occupancy levels were also liable to be affected by underlying changes such as the number of empty properties and of houses turned into shops and warehouses, as well as changes in the sizes of individual families.

Occupants per house

In Northampton too the balance of population and housing varied significantly in detail over the period. Table 1 showed that in 1841 the total residential population, excluding those living in various institutions totalled 20,577, occupying 4,360 individual properties, an average of 5.12 per occupied house. Occupancy levels ranged from four to five in most court areas, from five to six in the second and third tier streets and from five to seven in the main streets in the commercial core. Between 1841 and 1851 population growth exceeded the rate of new construction, and by 1851 the residential population of 25,508 occupied 5,009 houses, an average of 5.23. Changes were not however uniform. Over the decade densities had increased in 123 of the 212 individual streets with 30 or more occupants that existed in both

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[49] See M. J. Daunton,*House and Home in the Victorian City, 1850-1914,* London, 1983, pp. 15-24

census years, and declined in 87, with two streets unchanged. Streets with increased occupancy levels exceeded those with declines in all five administrative districts.

The rise in occupancy rates was widespread in rich and poor streets alike and across the town. By 1851 average densities in the smaller courtyard houses, many of them consisting of perhaps two main rooms, ranged mainly from 3.0 to 5.0 per house. Crowding levels in court housing changed very little, from 3.96 to 3.94 in the courts in Scarletwell Street complex, from 4.08 to 4.14 in the courts off Woolmonger Street, but in the largest complex of court housing, at the lower end of Bridge Street, numbers per house rose from 4.40 to 4.85 perhaps reflecting a recovery from the impact of the cholera epidemic of 1839, which affected these courts very badly.

In older side-streets such as the Scarletwell Street complex occupancy rates rose between 1841 and 1851 from 4.85 to 5.32, in the Castle Street complex from 4.37 to 5.03. In the largest streets in the shoe making districts numbers rose from 5.15 to 5.59 in Compton Street, from 5.12 to 5.98 in Nelson Street and from 4.95 to 5.55 in Great Russell Street. Occupancy levels also rose in the streets in the central core. Between 1841 and 1851 the average population per house rose from 5.49 to 5.89 in The Drapery, from 5.60 to 5.98 in Bridge Street, from 5.62 to 6.00 in Gold Street.

Density rates were also at 6.0 and above in some of the streets built between Bailiff Street and the Barrack Road dating from the 1850s, and on some of the new developments of £6-8 housing between the Kettering and Wellingborough roads. They were also above 6.0 in many upmarket developments where large houses were occupied by large but clearly prosperous family units with a number of dependent relatives, and servants.

By 1861 the population growth had slowed and building levels had accelerated. By the time of the 1861 census the residential population was 31,692 and the housing stock had grown to 6,648 and the average occupancy rate had fallen slightly to 5.16. Occupancy levels had fallen significantly in many of the shoe-making streets, from 5.54 to 4.90 in Todd’s Lane, from 5.98

to 4.98 in Nelson Street, Scarletwell Street had eased from 5.32 to 5.22, Castle Street was down from 5.03 to 4.68, Commercial Street from 6.20 to 5.63, Green Street from 5.59 to 5.30. The impact was less marked in the main core streets of the town. The number of vacant properties rose from six to 13 in the Drapery, but average occupancy levels in the remaining properties edged up from 5.89 to 5.97. They edged up from 6.00 to 6.13 in Gold Street, but slipped from 6.96 to 6.70 in the Market Square, from 6.28 to 5.89 in Abington Street, 5.98 to 5.75 in Bridge Street, from 4.85 to 4.47 in the Bridge Street courts.

By 1871 however the residential population had risen to 39,515 and the housing stock to 7,912 (including unrated properties). But the average occupancy rate had recovered to 5.25 per occupied house. Occupancy levels continued a slight decline, from 5.76 to 5.51 in core streets including Bridge Street, from 6.13 to 5.24 in Gold Street, from 5.0 to 4.69 in Marefair, but there were also declines in the poorer parts of the old town, from 4.68 to 4.55 in Castle Street, from 4.83 to 4.60 in Scarletwell Street and its courts, from 7.02 to 6.33 in Compton Street, 5.54 to 5.27 in Great Russell Street.

Occupancy levels in Abington Street rose from 5.71 in 1841 to 6.49 in 1871 and in St Giles Street from 5.00 to 5.49. In more commercial streets such as Bridge Street, the number of inhabitants in each occupied house was 5.60 in 1841 and 5.51 in 1871, in Gold Street 5.62 in 1841, 5.24 in 1871. The Bridge Street court dwellings ranged from 4.40 in 1841 to 4.30 in 1871. In the Drapery however the trend was consistently upwards from 5.49 to 5.89, 5.97 and 7.16, reflecting a trend for large drapery stores to house live-in shop assistants on the premises. In the poorer streets of the old town, the overall changes were slight. In Castle Street the average was 4.37 in 1841 and 4.55 in 1871, in Woolmonger Street 4.54 and 5.00, in Castle Street 4.37 and 4.55, in Nelson Street 5.12 and 5.69.

Representative streets

Changes in the housing mix will affect the values in some streets and random factors including the numbers of children living in individual properties at different times will also distort the detailed results. It is therefore not surprising that the number of occupiers per

house varies considerably, at times from less than four to more than ten, and changes significantly in individual properties over the period. Changes in the numbers of inhabitants and in rateable values per head for a range of representative streets between 1851 and 1871 are summarised in Table 4. In 1851 an average of six or more inhabitants per house were living in 43 of the 247 individual streets. Numbers were above average in the streets in the central core around the Market Square, containing some mixed residential and commercial properties, some of which housed resident shop-workers, while significant variations occurred between streets of various qualities in different parts of the town. but six or seven to a house were also living in some streets of recent working class housing such as Upper and Lower Harding Streets, Compton and Crispin streets where some three-storey properties had been erected. Predictably the number of occupiers was below average, falling to around four to a house, in what must have been the smallest houses, mainly in courts and terraces behind and away from the main streets, side streets and lanes. The 66 streets and courts in the town rated at an average of £4 a house or less in 1851 contained 979 houses and 4,631 inhabitants, an average of 4.73 per house. At the other end of the scale the 23 streets with an average rateable value per house of more than £20 contained 515 houses and 3,248 inhabitants, an average of 6.31 per house. In the absence of detailed information on the number of rooms per house prior to the 1891 census however the precise number of occupants per room cannot safely be inferred.

By 1871 population numbers had risen in a number of streets where building had continued, such as the Harding Street complex; they had fallen by up to 10 per cent in most of the properties in and around the commercial core but average numbers per property remained at six for the streets at the heart of the commercial district, where numbers were augmented by servants and by live-in workers, especially shop assistants in several large drapery stores and at five or more in the secondary streets. They had also fallen in some of the poorer streets including Compton Street, the Bath Street, Scarletwell Street and Chapel Place complexes and the large cluster of courts at the lower end of Bridge Street. Over the whole period from 1841 to 1871 however, the easing of pressure was roughly similar at both the top and bottom ends of the scale and there were few signs of incipient depopulation in the core streets where professional rather than commercial activities predominated. In the streets noted with the lowest average rateable values per house in 1851, the number of houses had risen slightly to 1,029 and the population had fallen to 4,463 or 4.34 per house. Occupancy per house had

risen in 27, was unchanged in two and had declined in 37 of the 66 streets. At the top end of the scale the number of houses in the streets existing 20 years previously had edged up to 522, the population had fallen to 3,025 and the average per house to 5.80. The number of inhabitants had risen in 11 and fallen in 12 of the 23 most highly rated streets, but the decline in the average population per house was virtually the same, at 9 per cent, at both the top and bottom ends of the scale.

Between 1851 and 1871 alone the number of streets with houses containing six or more inhabitants on average had risen to 61 out of 335 but if the effects of new streets is stripped out, in the 243 streets that had existed in both years, the number of streets that still had six or more inhabitants in 1871 had fallen slightly from 43 to 37, while the number of occupiers per occupied house had risen in 106 streets and had fallen in 126 streets, a figure also consistent with an easing of the levels of overall crowding but not of incipient depopulation.

Table 1 showed that population densities for the town as a whole varied from 5.12 per occupied house in 1841 to 5.25 in 1871, figures which were high by present-day standards but low by the standards of Great Britain as a whole in the mid-nineteenth century. The town became more crowded during the 1840s as the pace of new building failed fully to keep pace with the rise in population numbers, but new building then picked up to match the further increases. Although the physical growth of Northampton was restricted on the west and south by the marshy flood plain of the river Nene, land still was freely available on the east and north. Restrictive covenants imposed by the town council on development on the Billing Road and the refusal of landowners such as Henry Billington Whitworth to release farm land on the north side of the Wellingborough Road imposed only minor limits on the overall expansion of the town, and the pattern of rateable values in newly built streets makes it clear that in Northampton at least, developers were careful to put up new housing appropriate to the needs of essentially working class tenants.

As a result serious overcrowding remained largely an isolated phenomenon associated with individual large families. A handful of small houses did contain up to a dozen individuals, in conditions that can only be imagined. The snapshots provided by successive censuses show

there were also significant short-term variations caused by differential rates of population increase, fluctuations in the supply of new housing and changes in economic circumstances. The upheavals caused by the introduction of warehouse and factory-based machinery from 1859 onwards and the consequent departure of disaffected workers led to a marked rise in the level of empty properties shown in the 1861 census.

Rateable values per head by street, 1851 and 1871.

Average property valuations indicate the quality of the housing stock and the numbers of inhabitants per house the density of population, but large and valuable properties inevitably could accommodate more occupants more comfortably than small and poor ones. A more precise indicator of housing standards is therefore desirable. Although housing represented only a part of the overall level of household expenditure rateable values per head are the best proxy available to measure the degrees of comfort or discomfort in which the population lived, and the exensive run of rate books for Northampton provide a rare opportunity to measure variations from street to street and make comparisons with variations in age, gender, occupations and birthplaces. Figs. 20 and 21 show average rateable values per head of the population, street by street, for 1851 and 1871 respectively, calculated by dividing the rateable values recorded in the rate books by the population shown in the censuses. While the rateable values per inhabitant of individual houses varied considerably, the bulk of the population lived in streets where the rateable values of the housing averaged between £1 and £2 a year per head and ranged from under £1 a head in many of the courts and back street terraces to as much as £20 a head in some houses in the best residential and commercial streets of the town. Table 4 shows that over time there was a perceptible rise in the average values per head in some of the poorest streets and a considerable improvement in the better working-class and middle-class streets, but the differentials between the poorest and most prosperous were maintained.

Data concerning rateable values per head has been mapped in four bands, ranging from under £1 to more than £4 in 1851 and £5 in 1871 for individual streets, reflecting a distinct rise in values in the more prosperous streets between the two dates. Fig. 20 shows the concentration in 1851 of the lowest per capita values in the courts and poorer back streets and the highest

values in the central core and main streets and in the cluster of mainly residential streets on the south-eastern fringe including Derngate, Cheyne Walk and villas along the Billing Road. In 1851 the poorest inhabitants lived in streets averaging under and in many cases well well under £1 a head and the most prosperous averaged over, and in many cases well over £4 a head. By 1871 the areas under £1 a head had shrunk but areas containing the best housing had expanded and now averaged at least £5 a head. Fig. 21 shows the growth of intermediate housing on the eastern and northern sides of town, and the emerging residential housing along the Kingsthorpe Road. These maps should be seen in conjunction with the maps showing the distribution of the working population, the concentrations of shoe workers and the birthplaces of the population described in subsequent chapters.

Street-by-street analysis shows that rateable values for each occupant of the housing stock were highly polarised. In 82 of the 237 streets and courts that existed in 1851, including most of the back streets and courts in the older part of town, the accommodation offered less than £1 of rateable value per head, with court dwellings rating appreciably lower than the adjacent streets. The next 97 streets including the principal side-streets such as Bailiff Street (£1.03) Regent Street (£1.32), Wellington Street (£1.33), Upper Mounts £1.39), Lower Mounts (£1.48) and Great Russell Street (£1.53), Woolmonger Street (£1.15), Gas Street (£1.49) and Kingswell Street (£1.83) provided their inhabitants between £1 and £2 of rateable value per head. Values were between £2 and £5 in a further 43 streets including the mixed residential and commercial streets such as Wood Street (£3.13), St Giles Street (£3.33), lower Bridge Street ((£3.19), upper Bridge Street (£3.83), Newland (£3.44), Sheep Street (£4.01), Marefair All Saints (£3.12) and Marefair St Peter (£3.61), rising above £5 only in 15 streets, including the main streets of the core area ranging from the Drapery (£9.25 per head) Market Square (£8.53), Parade, Wood Hill, George Row, Gold Street and Abington Street (£5.54) to Derngate (£5.30). In some cases these higher values are inflated by the inclusion of commercial premises which are not separately rated, and values are slightly lower in the few upmarket mainly residential streets in existence at the time, including £3.26 in Leicester and Adelaide Terraces, £4.56 in Royal Terrace, £4.41 in Albion Place, rising to £6.44 in Waterloo Terrace, £4.94 in Cheyne Walk and £8.71 in Spencer Parade, all streets lived in by the town's professional and merchant classes. Conversely per capita values will have been deflated by the inclusion of domestic servants.

Changes between 1851 and 1871

Although the overall numbers of occupants per house changed relatively little between 1851 and 1871, rateable values per head rose significantly in most but not all streets. The extent of changes in 36 representative streets, rich and poor, commercial and residential can be seen in detail in Table 4. For the town as a whole rateable values per head rose by 11 per cent from £1.99 to £2.21. (In 1871 six streets with 516 inhabitants were outside the rated area.) By 1871 average values per head rose in 166 streets of the 227 streets common to both years, and by more than 50 per cent in 44 of them. The number of streets rated at £1 or less had fallen from 88 to 70 and the number rated above £2.50 had grown from 42 to 65, mainly as a result of the building of new up-market residential streets along the Billing Road and the Kingsthorpe Road. The crude figures conceal some individual variations however. Of the 88 streets rated at £1 or less in 1851, average rateable values had risen in 74, taking 24 above the threshold, leaving 50 still rated at £1 or less, while a further nine streets had fallen below the threshold in the two decades. Of the 42 streets rated above £2.50 per head in 1851 average values had risen further in 27 streets by 1871, while 15 had fallen, including five that had fallen below the threshold, changes almost entirely explained by an increase in new building of housing below the previous standards.

There is also some evidence that an easing of congestion in the poorest streets and courts led to some improvements in rateable values per head. Of the 166 streets that had risen in rateable value, 111 had fewer people per house compared with 55 whose rateable values had risen and whose inhabitants were also more numerous. Conversely, 60 of the 72 streets where average rateable values per head had fallen had more inhabitants and only 12 streets had fallen in average value per head and in population. Rateable values per head rose in 52 of the 66 streets where individual houses were rated under £4 each in 1851, and fell in 14, compared with increases in 15 and falls in eight of the 23 streets where houses averaged more than £20.

By 1871 the town contained 324 streets and courts for which rateable values are available, (excluding the unrated Militia Stores and a handful of streets administratively part of Kingsthorpe for which no rate books survive); 68 still offered their inhabitants less than £1 of rateable value, 153 were rated between £1 and £2 per head, 73 between £2 and £5 and 30 were rated at £5 and more per head. The poorest streets were again mainly court dwellings in the older, western parts of town, including the courts leading off Scarletwell Street, Bath Street, Spring Lane and Broad lane as well as the courts and rows in Sawpit Lane, Todd's Lane and Kinburn Place off Grafton Street, and St George's Square, (also known as Bull Orchard), all of which were in St. Sepulchre parish. In St. Giles parish The Riding, Mellows Row, Chapel Place and Chapel Gardens, Kettering Gardens and St Edmund's Row, Brier Court and Market Street, by now a large street but still on the eastern edge of the built up area were all still offering less than £1 a head. Several courts in All Saints were also still below the £1 mark, but the courts along the lower end of Bridge Street had edged up to just above £1. The main streets in the heart of the shoe-making district held barely above £1 a head (Upper Harding and Lower Harding streets, Althorp and Francis Street at £1.1, while Compton Street was fractionally below. Herbert Street, where the buildings were rather newer, provided £1.4 a head.

New streets developed off the west side of the Barrack Road included Gladstone Terrace, in later years a rather depressing cul-de-sac of terraced housing but brand new in 1871, provided £1.4 a head of value while Alliston Gardens offered £1.1. Alpha Street, Alpha Gent's new development on the boundary with Kingsthorpe parish, was rated at just under £1 a head. On the other side of the road Freehold Street, the newly completed development of the Freehold Land Society was rated at £2.3 a head. The houses fronting onto the Kingsthorpe Road averaged £3 in Primrose Hill on the west, while on the eastern side backing onto the Racecourse St George's Place was rated at £3.6, and Langham Place offered £5.9. Properties in Bailiff Street averaged £1.6, the maze of older streets on the west side ranged from £1 to £1.7 a head while the newer streets on the east side of Bailiff Street (Charles, William, Thomas and Robert streets) ranged around £2 a head. Elsewhere values in the streets linking the Wellingborough and Kettering roads recorded between £1.25 and £1.60 per head, and from under £1 in East Street to £1.30 per head on the New Town estate on the south side of the Wellingborough Road, rising to £1.6 to £1.8 in the Freehold Land Society's developments in Lower and Upper Thrift streets on the Billing Road. Houses in the newer streets off the

Billing Road including Alexandra Street (£2.8), Denmark Street (£2.3), and Alfred Street (£2.4), were mostly rated between £2 and £3 per head.

At the top end of the scale however values per head had risen to more than £8 in the upper part of Bridge Street and in the Market Square and above £10 in The Drapery, Mercers' Row and Wood Hill, but values had risen significantly less in Langham Place (£5.1 per head), Abington Street (£7.1), St Giles Street (£4.1), Waterloo Terrace £6.0, Derngate £4.5) and Spencer Parade (£8.2), perhaps because of the rival attractions of newer properties along the Billing Road (over £7 in Lyveden Place and along the north side of Billing Road, over £21 on the south side where large villas has been built with extensive views southwards across the Nene valley)

These figures may well significantly under-estimate the relative differences between standards in the best and worst housing. In most of the poorest properties the average number of working individuals contributing the gross household income would include wives and children as well as lodgers and boarders, most of whom were working and many of whom had few dependents, while in most highly-rated properties, domestic servants who would usually have represented a net cost to the household income rather than a net addition, made up between 20 and 30 per cent of the population. If allowance is made for these factors the differentials in the property value element of living standards between the poorest and richest properties would rise to as much as 30-fold.

Morphological character of old and new streets

A generalised picture of the evolving town therefore emerges. The year 1850 marked the start of accelerated building activity and also a turning point in the morphology of the town which can be illustrated with the aid of the rate books. Buildings in the older streets of the town were constructed individually, few adjacent properties had the same rateable values and there was a considerable range in size and values of individual houses. By 1871 the Market Square and the adjoining Parade together contained 43 properties with 32 different rateable values, ranging from £17 to £126, giving a ratio of 1.34 houses per value. Bridge Street contained

162 individual properties excluding commercial premises with 67 different valuations ranging from £4.50 to £189. Even secondary streets such as Augustin Street held 31 properties with 17 different values ranging from £7.63 to £55. Properties in the backstreets and courts were more uniform in value over a smaller range, but most contained fewer individual houses.

The sequence of rate books shows that after 1850 the emphasis switched to the construction of more homogenous streets indicative of a larger scale of operations and more standardised speculative building programmes. The change of pace can be measured by a marked rise in the ratio of properties to different values. Park Street, built between 1847 and 1850 contained 37 individual properties with eight different values, ranging from £7.5 to £12.75 and as many as a dozen identically-valued properties side by side. Adelaide Street, built in the early 1860s, had 31 houses with nine different valuations between £7.5 and £17. Rather more down-market New Town Road on the New Town estate, built around 1861 had 60 houses and seven different values between £5.50 and £15. Great Russell Street built in stages over the 1860s contained 141 houses with 11 different valuations between £6 and £36. These were all relatively modest developments but even Langham Place the largest development of up-market residential houses built in the 1860s had 28 houses with nine different valuations, ranging from £17 to £55, ten properties each valued at £27 and eight at £45. Homogeneity became increasingly marked during the 1860s and by 1870 newly-built Gladstone Terrace contained 30 houses, all rated at £6 each.

But in spite of the gradual improvement in the quality of most new housing over time one contemporary observer complained about the "peculiar want of suburban residences in Northampton" that those who would have liked to detach themselves from the masses really had nowhere to go. No sooner did a suitable site for "neat and genteel buildings" come onto the market than "lo! up start square lath and plaster-looking deformities as near to the old Northampton Rookery pattern as possible."[50] Brown noted that the built landscape of the town was "dominated not by the factory chimneys of northern industrial centres but by the

[50] Letter to the Northampton Mercury (Tory) on 15 August, 1846, quoted by Brown, *Northampton*, p. 33.

straight rows of five- or six-roomed houses which accommodated the domestic workshops of their occupants, interspersed with the warehouses and "shops" which they served."[51]

Conclusion

Northampton grew substantially in numbers between 1841 and 1871 with only a barely perceptible slowdown in the decade up to 1861, while the housing stock rose considerably although the number of completions varied significantly from year to year. By national standards the town was far less crowded than many large and fast growing industrial cities, and although occupancy levels rose from 1841 to 1851 they eased significantly over the next two decades. There is clear evidence that population numbers in the central core peaked during the period, but modest declines were also evident in many of the poorer streets. Over the period even allowing for changes in the rateable values of existing properties the housing standards of the population as a whole improved.

The rate books demonstrate both the gradually increasing scale of new construction in the middle years of the nineteenth century and the erratic and piecemeal nature of new building in individual streets consequent on the fluctuations in the business cycle. The books confirm the small scale of the activities of local builders and developers as well as the concentration of new building on working class housing and the impact on the total housing stock of changes in the rateable values of existing housing. The standard unit of developments was around four to six houses at a time, and the numbers of new houses built in individual streets did not reach twenty a year until the very end of the period. Over time however the structural balance of the town and its housing stock changed significantly.

Rateable values show a town in a slow but substantial state of flux, with the wealthier parts of the town centre appreciating in value and therefore paying an increasingly large contribution to the rates compared with the older, poorer parts. Many newer properties added to the housing stock after 1841 show significant declines in rateable values after their initial construction and rating, suggesting that the building of still newer streets, with improved

[51] Brown, *Northampton*, p. 33.

basic standards of accommodation and construction was recognised by the rating authorities and by landlords and tenants alike. These changes took place in spite of the frequently expressed dislike of shouldering an increasing share of the burden of rates on the part of the majority of owners and tenants of the wealthier properties, who would have made up a majority of the more active and influential civic dignitaries and of voters.

Differences in property values and the relative incomes and social status of their inhabitants have always existed, since towns with specialised functions first developed, but the degree of differentiation in Northampton increased between 1841 and 1871 as the town grew physically larger, and the scale of differentiation increased as the town expanded geographically, showing incipient signs of the mass differentiation that marked large emerging modern cities in the UK, US and elsewhere in the nineteenth century and beyond. But in Northampton the processes at work including new building and re-rating, a gradual improvement in the quality and value of new building can still be identified and the emerging patterns including the consolidation of the central core, the emergence of new up-market residential areas and the development of new streets targeted at a new class of factory workers and craftsmen can be seen on the ground.

Chapter 5

Housing Indicators.

In the absence of any records of house prices any assessment of housing standards throughout the town has to reflect not just rateable values per house and per head, but a range of indicators, including variations in the number of empty properties, the degree of shared housing, and the numbers of owner occupiers, boarders and lodgers, and of domestic servants, all of which have been used as measures of housing standard. Armstrong analysed households in York, Nottingham and Radford by social class and size, the numbers of lodgers and servants.[1] C. R. Lewis linked the incidence of lodgers and servants in Cardiff in 1851 and 1871 to rateable values.[2] Dennis reworked the survey of housing in Leeds carried out by a local doctor, Robert Baker in 1839, recording levels of owner-occupation, proportions of dwellings available at different rents, numbers of lodgers and servants, and numbers of dwellings occupied by Irish households[3]. Hobsbawm used the existence of domestic servants as a proxy for middle-class status and therefore the standards of living affordable to the occupants of property.[4] Levels of owner-occupation have also been used as proxies for class and standards of comfort, although it is abundantly clear that even the wealthier residents include a number of substantial landlords who did not actually own their own homes throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. This chapter will attempt to record and assess the role of these factors in mid nineteenth-century Northampton.

Empty properties

The incidence of empty properties is another important indicator of housing conditions over time; the rate books and the census returns both provide information on the number of empty properties but with different levels of precision and timing. Changes in tenancies and ownership while the rate book was current were recorded by crossing out the former occupiers and inserting the names of the new. In many cases the space for the names of tenants was left blank throughout the life of the book, which could be six months or more,

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1 W. A. Armstrong, 'The Interpretation of the Census Enumerators' Books for Victorian Towns', H. J. Dyos, (ed.), *The Study of Urban History,* London, 1968. pp.70-79.

2 C. R. Lewis, 'A stage in the development of the industrial town: a case study of Cardiff, 1845-75.' *Trans. IBG,* **n.s. 4**, 1979. pp. 129-152.

3 R. J. Dennis, *English industrial cities of the nineteenth century,* Cambridge, 1984, pp. 64-7.

4 E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire; From 1750 to the Present Day,* London, 1999 edn. p.135

suggesting prolonged periods when the premises were empty. The books are less clear about the timing of changes or how long individual properties were empty, how many were actually vacant at any moment in time or why premises were unoccupied, but the rate collectors frequently made observations where rates went unpaid or were in arrears because properties were empty. Comments such as “left the town” or “no effects” record many cases where the payment of rates was interrupted.

The census enumerators however do provide snapshots of the state of the housing market and the numbers and location of properties that lay empty on the actual census night, either because the tenants were not at home, or because the previous tenant had departed and a replacement had not been found, but the information is necessarily limited to the exact dates of the censuses.The 1841 census records 342 empty properties, or 7.84 per cent of the 4,360 listed houses, with a further 44 houses under construction. By 1851 the supply of housing had tightened appreciably, with just 130 properties empty in a total of 5,009 or 2.60 per cent of the housing stock, with a further 48 building. In 1861 however in the aftermath of the industrial unrest provoked by the introduction of machinery 504 out of 6,648 houses were recorded as “uninhabited”, or 7.58 per cent of the housing stock, with 58 under construction. By 1871, 7,912 houses were listed in the census, with 225 or 2.88 per cent of the housing stock empty and a further 63 still under construction.[5]

Owner-occupiers

Dennis rightly warns that owner occupation was not the universal middle-class status symbol or source of secure investment that it has since become, but accepts that within industrial cities rates of owner-occupation were generally higher in better-off districts.[6] In Leeds in 1839 it averaged just 3.7 per cent, and ranged from less than 2 per cent in the city centre and East End to over 6 per cent in newer middle class housing in the West Ward, while in

[5] By 1871 the building line had crossed the parish boundary and a further 96 houses plus one empty house had been built on land within the parish of Kingsthorpe, and another 12 were under construction.

[6] Dennis, *English industrial cities,* p142.

Leicester in 1855 Pritchard, found owner-occupation ranged from almost nil in central districts to around 15 per cent in the affluent south-east of the city.[7]

In Northampton in 1871 554 houses were owner-occupied, or just under 7 per cent of the total. Fig. 22 shows their distribution across the town in 1871, superimposed on a base map showing average rateable values per street. Even in the streets that made up the central commercial-cum-residential core where most properties were rated in excess of £20 the levels of owner-occupation ranged from 33 per cent in Wood Hill, to 30 per cent in Mercers Row, 28 per cent in the Drapery, 22 per cent in Sheep Street and Gold Street, 19 per cent in the upper part of Bridge Street, 18 per cent in the Parade, 17 per cent in the Market Square, 14 per cent in Abington Street and 13 per cent in Newland. At the top end of the up-market residential developments owner occupancy rates were predictably higher at 31 per cent in Royal Terrace, 33 per cent in Spencer Parade, 50 per cent in Chain (later Cheyne) Walk and 55 per cent in the exclusive villa developments along the south side of the Billing Road.

At the bottom end of the scale in most streets with houses averaging less than £8 rateable value owner-occupation was absent altogether or limited to perhaps a single property, often on corner sites. It was however notably higher than might be expected in some mid-market streets developed by the Freehold Land Society including 23 per cent in Freehold Street itself, 22 per cent in Upper Thrift Street, and in some of the newest streets where building began only in the late 1860s, including 24 per cent in Alfred Street, 17 per cent in Castilian Street and 13 per cent in Vernon Terrace.

Lodging houses

At the opposite end of the housing scale from owner-occupiers, “common lodging houses” and their inhabitants had an unenviable reputation in Victorian towns and cities. Best has summarised the status and conditions in lodging houses, largely unregulated until 1851, which were often the first port of call for incomers arriving in towns and cities with no contacts on whom to rely, as well as refuges for the poorest and least successful members of

[7] R Pritchard *Housing and the spatial structure of the city*, Cambridge 1976, p.40

society and for the "shiftless" and "criminal" classes.[8] They were most common and conditions generally worst in the largest and fastest-growng towns and cities where accommodation was at a premium and rents excessive. In Northampton by contrast they were relatively unimportant, limited to three or four houses in Broad Lane, Grafton Street and lower Bridge Street, occupied by no more than 100 individuals, mainly males, and in 1851 including significant numbers born in Ireland. The relative unimportance of lodging houses suggests that the supply of alternative accommodation in Northampton generally kept pace with demand.

Multiple occupancy

The extent to which individual properties were shared by more than one household has also been used as an indicator of a mismatch between the supply and demand for housing of a given quality, and more specifically as a measure of overcrowding and pressure on facilities for cooking, washing and working as well as living space. Multiple occupation could arise as a result of single families moving out of large central properties in bigger cities such as Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, to be replaced by poorer families moving in to rent single floors, individual rooms and cellars[9], or as in the case of Northampton of heads of households taking in lodgers and even whole families to supplement their income and maintain rent payments. The existence of shared housing and boarders and lodgers is also a measure of the financial pressure on heads of households to supplement their income and maintain rent payments. Their relative status is not entirely clear in spite of successive efforts on the part of the enumerators to identify heads of separate families and clarify the distinction between lodgers and boarders within a single property. Higgs points out that the instructions for the 1851 census onwards defined a household as potentially including a family, its relatives, servants, visitors, boarders sharing the same table, and lodgers.[10] Individuals and families sharing part of the same house should have been marked off by a single oblique line in the manuscript census pages, but in practice may also have been described as boarders or lodgers in their relationship to the head of the household.

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8 G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75,* New York, 1972, pp.27-8.
9 Dennis, *English cities,* pp.62
10 E. R. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited,* London, 2005. p.73.

In a relatively small number of cases the Northampton census of 1871 lists married couples and even families with one or more child as “lodgers”, or more frequently as “boarders”, while single individuals, mostly male, are sometimes described as heads in their own right. It is impossible at this distance of time to assess the significance of these differences, or know whether second and third families had any greater security of tenure than boarders and lodgers, but the existence of shared houses occupied by two or more separate families is certainly an indicator of “misfit” properties that were or had become too large for a single family to afford. For the purposes of this study boarders and lodgers have been treated as such unless they consisted of three or more members of the same family, in which case they have been classified as a shared household, while individuals (i.e. single entries) listed as separate heads have been treated as boarders or lodgers. In the conclusions that follow however boarders and lodgers on the one hand and houses in shared occupation, although recorded separately, should be treated as dual indicators of the same phenomenon.

The 1871 census recorded 427 shared houses, little more than 5 per cent of the total housing stock. Fig. 23 shows they were widely scattered across the town with just one significant concentration, for which no obvious explanation suggests itself, located on either side of the Barrack Road on the northern outskirts, where nine out of 57 houses were occupied by two or more family units in Adelaide Street, three out of 33 in the adjacent Alliston Gardens and another seven out of 64 in Nelson Street, 13 out of 43 in Leicester Street and seven out of 62 in Lawrence Street on the opposite side of the main road north. Elsewhere there were ten out of 104 in Market Street, seven out of 66 in West Street, five out of 31 in King Street, five out of 35 in Augustin Street, three out of seven in Adelaide Place and four out of 26 in The Green nearby. Most shared properties were in streets rated at between £5 and £10 a year, large enough to provide separate accommodation for two families but not prosperous enough to escape the imperative to minimise rental and other costs where the need and opportunity coincided.

Boarders and lodgers

The Northampton census of 1871 made a distinction between boarders, who would presumably have shared the family meals as opposed to lodgers who merely slept under the

same roof but made their own arrangements for food. The distinction was considered significant enough for the census supervisor meticulously to alter many entries from "lodgers" to "boarders", but boarders and lodgers alike must have paid the head of the household for their accommodation and boarders and lodgers would have had even less security of tenure than the head of the household himself or herself. For the purposes of this study the terms are used interchangeably. Individuals who were listed as apprentices, and servants employed in the same trade as the head of the household have also been ignored on the grounds that they may have earned money from the head of the household and were less likely to have contributed directly to household expenses.

The 1871 census listed 2,809 boarders or lodgers, including 2,012 males and 797 females, or 7.12 per cent of the total population of the town including 10.29 per cent of the males and 3.89 per cent of females. By comparison Dyos found boarders and lodgers made up 15 per cent of the population of Camberwell at this time.[11] In some streets the proportion of boarders and lodgers in the total population exceeded 15 per cent, in others it was less than 5 per cent. The highest concentrations of boarders and lodgers were to be found not in the poorest properties but in houses rated between £5 and £10 a year and especially in the older parts of town, in the north-west and again in the commercial/industrial zone near the canal and railway (Fig. 24). Although crowded many of these properties would have been able to offer a bed to single lodgers looking for the cheapest accommodation. High numbers occurred in the older parts of town where a mismatch between the incomes of the head of the household and rents required might be expected to create a need and an opportunity for lodgers. Broad Lane alone contained 61 male and 23 female lodgers, together 29.58 per cent in a total population of 284. The "bottom end" of Bridge Street contained 72 males and seven females, 17.25 per cent out of a total of 603, and Commercial Street held 17 male and four female lodgers, 16.94 per cent in a total of 124 inhabitants. High levels can also be seen in Compton Street (14.94 per cent), Todd's Lane (10.71 per cent) Kinburn Place (17.14 per cent) and Lower Harding Street (12.28 per cent), all in the Grafton Street area.

[11] H.J. Dyos, *The Victorian City, images and realities,* London, 1973, p. 375.

The incidence of boarders and lodgers was slightly lower in middle-range properties rated between £10 and £20, where houses were bigger but the pressure to supplement household incomes might have been a little less acute. They were also slightly lower again in the newer developments of modest housing on the outskirts of the town (3 or 4 per cent in Upper and Lower Thrift Street, between 5 and 7 per cent in Bouverie Street, West Street, Vernon Street and New Town Road), where mismatches between rents and the earning power of heads of households, creating a need to take in lodgers, had had less time to develop. They were also relatively low in the very poorest streets with rateable values of £5 or less, (just three in 163 inhabitants in a complex of little rows and terraces off Sawpit Lane, where the properties were barely large enough for a single family with no space to accommodate lodgers even at the most basic level. They were also relatively low (30 in a total of 580 or 5.17 per cent) in the large complex of courts off Bridge Street, which were small and insanitary although well placed for transport and casual work opportunities on the canal wharves. This may be due to the relative lack of work for single women in this part of town, where male lodgers outnumbered females by approximately six to one. More predictably the numbers of boarders and lodgers were very low in the wealthiest streets with rateable values in excess of £20, (under 2 per cent in Abington Street, Gold Street, the Drapery and Waterloo) where the handful of boarders were almost all young single professional people, or elderly single individuals often described as annuitants or of independent means.

Among the boarders and lodgers relatively large numbers were employed in the footwear trades, lending strength to the assertion that earnings were so low that a single man could not afford separate accommodation without contributions from a working wife and children. Altogether 895 male boarders or 44.6 per cent of the total and 231 female boarders or 29.0 per cent of the total were employed in the footwear trades, with heavy concentrations in streets where the footwear trades were dominant, and lower proportions in the streets along the southern edge of the town close to the canal and river wharves and the main railway station, where most of the heavy goods carried in and out of the town were handled. Shoe workers boarded mainly in households headed by shoe workers and clearly made an essential contribution to the householders' incomes.

Servants

The employment of servants and specifically domestic servants was by contrast a status symbol, although a distinction needs to be drawn between servants who were assistants in trade or made a contribution to family income and domestic servants who were a net cost of the household. A small number of individuals, less than 100 in total, were recorded as servants while living with their own families, and their status remains open to some doubt. At least some may have been temporarily or permanently “out of employ.”They have therefore been excluded from the study. The 1871 census however recorded 1,259 domestic servants, almost exclusively female and living in with their employers, Fig. 25 shows that they were heavily concentrated in the commercial core and the up-market residential streets, although a scattering can be found in secondary streets with average rateable values of £10-20.

Conclusion

The supplementary housing indicators discussed in this chapter confirm the overall impression based on occupancy levels and rateable values per house and per head that Northampton, although far from prosperous, did not suffer the extremes of housing deprivation recorded in many larger, faster-growing cities based on heavy industry, or in many parts of the metropolis.

Chapter 6

Builders and Owners, Landlords and Tenants.

The relationship between the built environment and its inhabitants, between property and people is at the core of urban geography, historical and current. The people in turn can usefully be seen as developers and financiers, builders and owners, landlords and tenants. The aim of this chapter is firstly to throw some light on the size, structure and role of the building industry in mid nineteenth-century Northampton, the number of firms, and their survival rate between intervals set by the publication of successive trade directories; secondly to identify the leading firms and the parts of the town in which they appear to have operated, thirdly to assess the extent to which they were themselves long-term owners of property either as deliberate investments or as a result of their failure to find investment buyers for their speculative developments. The chapter also reviews the structure of property ownership in Northampton over the period, identifies the principal owners of property and their occupations, locates the largest property portfolios, by number of houses and by aggregate rateable values, and measures the extent to which these portfolios changed over time. Last but not least it examines the relationship between landlords and tenants, and the special place of women in the ownership of property. Trade directories provide useful supplementary information but the existence of a near-complete run of rate-books for the period provides an essential extra dimension.

Builders and developers

Local land-owners seem to have played little or no part in the development of land acquired for building in Northampton, and only Thomas Grundy, a local iron-founder and Liberal politician has passed into the records as the speculative developer of the New Town estate on the south side of the Wellingborough Road, buying his own brick-yard for the purpose.[1] Grundy was also a founder member of the Freehold Land Society which played an increasingly active part in acquiring land and commissioning builders for estates along the Kingsthorpe Road and the north side of the Billing Road. Information on Northampton builders and building tradesmen comes largely from successive trade directories published

[1] C. Brown, *Northampton, 1835-1985, Shoe Town, New Town,* Chichester, 1990, pp. 31-3, and V. A. Hatley, *Northampton in 1847: Notes,* Northampton, 1972, p. 3.

between 1830 and 1869 (see Appendix). Although successive directories have different sponsors, and the number of entries and the way in which they were classified and grouped varied, it is evident that individual building firms listed were mostly small and turnover relatively high. The scale of their operations and the number of their employees cannot be gauged from directories, nor can the degree to which individual firms worked alone or cooperated in construction work, but the number of separate listings rose from around 60 prior to 1850, when they would have shared construction of an average of around 50 new properties a year, to 90 firms after 1850, when the number of new properties averaged between 100 and 200 a year. The number of named firms then levelled off around 80 by 1869, while new building rose substantially only at the end of the period under study.

In practice therefore many of the traders listed in the directories must have been minor players, occasional sub-contractors, or largely employed in repairs and renovations. The best available measure of continuity is the recurrence of a trader with the same name and trade or premises in two successive directories. It cannot be entirely comprehensive; for example three names listed in 1854 recur in 1869 but were missing in 1862, and a handful of traders appeared under different headings, but the directories had a common practical purpose and will have had a consistent theme. Table 5 shows that Pigot's directory for 1830 lists 56 names, including 11 bricklayers and/or builders, five builders and carpenters, 15 carpenters and joiners, eight plasterers and slaters, eight plumbers, and four painters and glaziers. Out of 56 individual traders only 21 survived into Pigot's directory of 1841. Of 63 traders listed in 1841 only 33 were still identifiable in Kelly's directory of 1847, when there were 65 separate firms listed, of whom 43 were still listed in 1854. Looking forward a further eight years out of 89 names recorded in Kelly's directory of 1854 there were 44 survivors in Slater's directory of 1862. Of the 91 listed in that year just 45 recurred in the Post Office directory of 1869, which listed only 77 individual traders.

If multiple entries under individual names are taken into account, the number of activities recorded expands significantly. In the first five directories a substantial amount of overlap between trades was evident, especially and increasingly between builders and carpenters, and between plumbers, painters and glaziers, while plasterers and slaters as specialist trades declined, which, if the coverage is consistent, implies a significant element of diversification by large firms and/or amalgamation of activities over time. The drop in individual listings in 1869 may point to the same conclusion.

In practice it seems likely that the bulk of new house-building work was increasingly in the hands of half a dozen large firms, although there was evidently a considerable degree of specialisation both in the type of work undertaken and, even within a town little more than one mile across, in the precise locations where works were carried out. The best information on this subject comes from applications to the Improvement Commissioners for permission to build. Only the second volume of records, listing applications from 1860 to 1871, survives in the Northamptonshire Record Office (see p. 95), but it sheds light on the scale and locations of the activities of the main builders. In these 12 years, the top ten applicants were all identifiable as builders or carpenters. Individual applications were led by the Cosford family, Robert and Thomas, based at 4, Lady's Lane, with 93 applications, Henry Holding and Sons of Abington Street with 64, followed by Clarke & Heap of St James (up to 1869), and George Heap individually in 1870 and 1871, with a combined total of 42; and the Smith brothers of Gold Street with 25. A further score of individuals made between 10 and 24 applications each.

There are no records of how many houses were actually built but the applications alone suggest the Cosfords concentrated mainly on house-building, developing their own wood-yard in the angle of the Mounts and the Barrack Road and several streets on part of the site of the old castle, and making applications to build (at least) 206 individual houses over the period, although they also applied to build workshops, two shoe factories, a school, a chapel and at least ten warehouses. The Holdings applied to build at least 43 houses, a school and half a dozen workshops, but additions and alterations made up almost one half of their total applications. Clarke & Heap and George Heap applied to build four shoe factories, two schools and a chapel, to enlarge a church and the General Hospital and also to build at least 28 houses. Smith Brothers who were listed in directories as builders, plumbers and carpenters, concentrated mainly on repair work in the older part of town around their base in Gold Street with only around a dozen new houses to their name, while Joseph Watkin built five warehouses, several shops, a brewery and a school and the Convent in Abington Street as well as just six houses. Richard Smith (at least 30 houses), Elijah Pool (84 houses), Peter Roberts (55 houses), Owen Sturgis Pratt (at least 30 houses), William Rainbow (around 100 houses and cottages), Alpha Gent (at least 33 houses) and James Labram (29 houses), were almost exclusively house-builders.

Property ownership

If the house-building industry in Northampton was generally small-scale and localised, so was the ownership of property. Dyos recorded in detail the activities of Edward Yates as a major landlord in Camberwell,[2] but small and medium landlords rarely kept records that have survived. Rate books recording the ownership of properties liable to pay poor rates and improvement rates, together with valuation rolls and electoral rolls are by far the most satisfactory sources, where they survive. The names and sometimes addresses of property owners can then be cross-referenced to information in the census and especially in trade directories to identify the home addresses and occupations of the owners. Northampton has been fortunate in preserving a comprehensive run of rate books covering the whole town from 1844 to the 1870s.

Precise identification of owners presents some problems, including the difficulties in assigning ownership between individuals with the same surname and initial when records show that two individuals existed, named R, Richard or Robert; J, John, Jonathan or Joseph; or M, Michael or Matilda. Excessive caution in creating separate identities will inevitably inflate the number of owners, and an element of judgement is necessary to try and minimise this distortion without erring in the opposite direction and grouping together all named owners with the same surname.

In such cases for example if the records show a J. Smith, a John Smith and a Joseph Smith, it is assumed there are two rather than three separate identities. If there is an S. Walker and an ex S. Walker it is assumed there is one effective owner rather than two. Mary Archer and Mrs. Archer are taken to be a single individual if no other females of the same surname are recorded in the rate-books. If there is a surname but no first name and another entry for that surname together with a first name it has been assumed that they relate to a single individual. For example J. Barnes and Joseph Barnes are assumed to be the same if no other J. Barnes is listed. If there are entries for John Groom, Richard Groom and J&R. Groom it is also assumed there is effectively a single owner. If the adjustments are realistic and consistent, the margin of error in the average numbers of properties per owner and the values of individual portfolios can be kept within reasonable limits.

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[2] H.J. Dyos, *Victorian suburb: a study of the growth of Camberwell,* Leicester, 1961.

Properties may also remain in the ownership of a single surname, while initials and first names change, indicating a likely death of the owner and control passing to a son, daughter or widow. In these cases a change of forename or initial has been taken to mean continuity rather than change. A further problem arises when properties are recorded in the names of the executors of individuals as well as individuals with the same names and initials. Significant numbers of properties are recorded as owned by for example S. Walker and the executors of S. Walker, and this too has been taken as a measure of continuity rather than a change of ownership.

Some individuals such as John Devonshire are listed as owners but can be identified from the census records or directories as professional house agents or solicitors (probably) managing properties on behalf of the ultimate owners, who may in turn be widows, children or absentees. In some cases these individuals are identified as agents by pencil notes in the rate books. Despite these shortcomings it is possible to identify as many as 90 per cent of large property owners, defined as owning at least 20 individual properties or properties with a combined rateable value of at least £200. Trade directories are useful supplementary sources of information and often list individuals under various occupational classifications together with addresses, which may be residential or business or both. Many individuals are listed more than once, often under “gentry” with their place of residence and also under specific occupations such as “surgeon”, “draper and outfitter”, or “shoe manufacturer” as well as with what may be a different address, presumably a place of business.

It is therefore possible to allocate most of the property stock to specific owners, to locate and map their holdings, assess the type and value of properties they held, and calculate in some considerable detail the average holdings of property, including residential, mixed and commercial, by number, type and value, in the town and in specific streets and parts of the town, and to chart the rise and fall, and the evolution of individual property portfolios over the period from 1844 to 1871. With the aid of census data and trade directories it is also possible to identify the occupations, age and origins of many individual owners. The 40 largest owners in each of the census years are shown on two pages in Table 6 and the holdings of the eight largest have been plotted in Figs. 26-33. Together they provide a comprehensive picture of the ownership patterns over a 30-year period.

Builders and owners

The largest single category of private owners comprised property specialists including builders, followed by associated tradesmen such as brick-makers and builders' merchants. Builders themselves, and carpenters are prominent among the property owners recorded by successive rate books, and the first recorded owners of properties can often be identified as builders, presumably acting as speculative developers as well as the actual builders, and holding completed properties pending a sale. A number of builders and carpenters are however among the long-term owners of property, including the Cosfords, Stephen Green, Henry Holding, Charles Ireson, Thomas Johnson, Edward Masters, Peter Roberts, John Watkin, George Wills and Henry Wooding.

Institutions and individuals

Throughout the period significant numbers of properties were owned by banks, insurance companies, charities, friendly societies and benefit clubs, and by the executors and trustees of named individuals. A map in the Northamptonshire Record Office dating from the 1850s shows that the Church Charity trustees held 55 properties on 34 sites in the town, and rate books confirm that they were usually very long-term holders. The London Fire & Life Company (later the London Assurance Company) owned 35 houses, including 20 properties, each with a rateable value of £8.25 in Greyfriars Street, acquired between February and July 1851, which appear to have been a long-term investment. By contrast the Union Bank's properties were scattered and mostly short-term holdings, suggesting they had acquired properties by default on loans to previous owners.

The structure of property ownership, 1841/44 to 1871

The following analysis is based on data from the rate books which show small discrepancies, mostly less than 1 per cent, from the data recorded in the censuses, partly due to the inclusion of outlying properties within the parish boundaries, partly to differences in the dates at which the census and the nearest rate books were compiled and partly because of differences in the records, where one owner owned two adjacent properties. In 1841 just over 300 houses had

been built on extra-parochial land, on which no rates were levied and ownership can only be inferred from subsequent books. A fully comprehensive review of property ownership can therefore only begin in January 1844, when the first series of improvement commissioners' rate books covering the whole town becomes available. From then on the structure of property ownership can be analysed in terms of numbers of properties, (which are the more interesting for the purposes of studying spatial distribution of portfolios, persistence rates and relations between owners and occupants), or by the total value, (which may say more about the wealth and investment preferences of the individual owners).

Table 7 shows changes in the structure of ownership between 1841 and 1871. In January 1844 4,641 properties with a total rateable value of £46,729.25 were shared between 784 owners, giving an average value of £10.07 per property and each owner an average of 5.92 properties. Very small holdings predominated, with one third of all owners holding a single house and more than two thirds holding five properties or less. Altogether 37 owners held 20 or more properties amounting to 29.13 per cent of the housing stock while 35 owners held properties worth £200 or more comprising 24.70 per cent of the stock by value. (These figures conceal some overlap with individuals owning 20 properties worth more than £200 being counted twice). In the 1844 trade directory some of the larger owners were recorded as "gentry" in directories but most had additional activities. Altogether nine were in the construction trades such as builders, brick-makers, carpenters and builders' merchants, and there were also six shoe manufacturers, Thomas Jones, John and Richard Groom, who held the bulk of their properties jointly, John Stimpson & Son who were also bakers, William Jones, father and son, Edward Cotton, and John Jones.

Thomas Roberts, a carpenter and shopkeeper had the largest portfolio in 1844, with 89 houses, valued at £488 a year and focused on the new developments off Grafton Street and in the Lower Bridge Street area, where he held 38 properties in the courts and yards valued at less than £4 each (Fig. 26a). A presumed relation (because of their association with Harding Street), George Roberts, described as a baker, beer retailer and shopkeeper and tobacconist, held a further 32 properties worth £203 10s close to his home in Harding Street. The brothers John and Samuel Percival, partners in Percival's Bank and living in Abington Street had the

largest portfolio by value, rated at £828, mostly held jointly (Fig. 26b).[3] Samuel Walker with 75 properties rated at £570.25 was recorded as "gentleman" living at Castle Cottage in the parish of St Peter's and also as a tailor and clothier with premises in Market Square and as a whitesmith in Fish Street (Fig. 26c). Henry Billington Whitworth, variously recorded as a banker, "gentleman" and subsequently as the Borough Treasurer had 58 properties (Fig. 26d). William Porter, "gentleman" and ironmonger in the Drapery had 55 properties rated at £413.50 and Robert Scarborough, "gentleman", held 49 properties located in St. Giles St and The Riding nearby (Figs. 27a, b). Charities held 71 properties rated at £793.50, while various clubs and friendly societies held 75 properties rated at £412.25.

The housing stock had risen by the middle of 1851 to 4,961 properties with a total rateable value of £50,262.25 shared between a total of 921 owners, including the London Life Assurance Company, the Northamptonshire Union Bank, about half a dozen clubs, including the Friend in Need Club, and a number of charities, especially Church Charities. This implies an average value of £10.13 for each property and an average ownership of just 5.39 properties. There were just 38 individuals or institutions with 20 or more properties, controlling 25.80 per cent of the housing stock and 33 individuals or institutions with portfolios worth £200 or more holding 23.56 per cent of the stock by value (again with an element of duplication between the two lists). Out of the 53 holdings with 20 or more properties in 1851 five were institutions and seven may have been absentee landlords because they cannot plausibly be linked to individuals listed as living in Northampton. In six cases there are too many individuals sharing the same name and/or initial to identify the owners with complete certainty. Of the remaining 35 names, nine were or had been builders, six were professionals who may or may not have been primary owners rather than agents. There was one widow with no listed occupation but owning 40 properties. Ten were in trade including two butchers, two grocers, two bakers and four variously described as dealers, merchants or shopkeepers, while seven were in "productive" occupations including four shoe manufacturers, two leather merchants (one of whom was also an auctioneer and a miller and was also the Mayor of Northampton). Two large holdings were being managed by the executors of an estate.

[3] Percival's Bank was founded c. 1790 by the John Percivals, father and son, who were wholesale drapers and haberdashers. The two owners listed here, John and Samuel, died in 1852 and 1849 respectively. Their bank became the Union Bank. See V. A. Hatley, *Phoenix in the Drapery: The Story of Percival's Bank, Northampton.* Northampton, 1966.

Many of the large owners recorded in 1844 recur in 1851. Samuel Walker senior was the largest single individual holder by number of properties owned, but he owned just 77 houses including his own home, with a combined rateable value of £554 (Fig. 28a), Thomas Billingham, described as a house and insurance agent and rate collector was listed as the owner of 60 properties with an average rateable value of around £5 (Fig. 28b). Thomas Roberts still held 58, rated at under £5 each (Fig. 28c), the Percivals 56, rated at £598.50 (Fig. 28d); George Roberts had grown his holding to 51 properties, rated at £303.50 and William Porter owned 48, worth £421 (Fig. 29a, b). Only 31 holders owned portfolios worth £200 or more. The properties previously owned by Richard Harris, a builder in Newland in 1844, had passed to the London Fire and Life Assurance Co, which had 35 properties rated at £458.50 in Newland and the adjacent Greyfriars Street. The six shoe manufacturers recorded in 1844 all retained their holdings. Charities owned 56 properties and a collection of clubs and friendly societies a further 66.

By the time of the 1861 census there were 6,472 properties shared by 1,189 owners, giving an average value of £10.34 per house and an average holding of 5.44 houses. The number of owners with 20 or more properties had risen to 50, holding 25.10 per cent of the stock and 46 owners had portfolios worth £200 or more, amounting to 22.87 per cent of the stock by value (once again with overlaps). Executors and trustees owned a total of 104 properties in 1861. In the great majority of cases trustees held onto properties for considerable periods of time, making them among the more durable features of the property ownership scene. Thirteen different clubs and friendly societies such as the Friend in Need Club held 103 properties in that year, and a number of clergymen held significant holdings, including some of the poorest properties, although it is not possible to say whether this was the result of historical accident, philanthropic acts or merely a reflection of the high status of clergymen at the time. As many as 15 per cent of properties were directly or indirectly in the beneficial ownership of women, which in the context of the time represented a significant source of wealth, income and security at a time when other sources of independent income were few.

Samuel Walker was again the largest single owner in 1861 and his holdings had risen to 92 properties rated at £798.50 (Fig. 30a), followed by James Bury Smith, a builder with 66 properties, concentrated in and around Bath Street (Fig. 30b) and rated at £269, just over £4 each on average, while H. B. Whitworth had 62 properties rated at £627.50 (Fig. 30c). Thomas Roberts had dropped out of the list but George Roberts still held 39 properties and a

Peter Roberts, a builder and carpenter, entered the list with 28 properties, while a further 15 properties were ascribed to "executors of Roberts." Part of the Percivals' holdings has been transferred to their bank, now the Northamptonshire Union Bank, a public limited company that had replaced the old partnership. The London Fire and Life Assurance Company had retained its holdings, while charities held 60 properties and 14 different clubs and societies had 137 properties rated at £788. By value only 35 owners held property worth £200 or more, and these included at least three brewers, a bank, and the London Assurance Company. Five members of the Phipps family (brewers and drapers) together had the most valuable portfolio worth £969.75, eight individuals named Stevenson or Steevenson (sic) held 72 properties worth £769.25 and Charles Ireson, a builder, held 49 properties with a combined rateable value of £709.75.

There were still six shoe manufacturers and/or leather sellers in the top 40 owners, William Jones, Henry Turner, William Robinson, J. & R. Groom, John Stimpson, and J. P. Lloyd, and individuals associated with the building trade were again significant, although the names were not constant, with Thomas Johnson, Charles Ireson, James Mott, Peter Roberts, James Watkin, Henry Wooding, Robert Cosford, Henry Holding and Stephen Green making their appearances in the list of large holders, together with Thomas Grundy, described as a brewer but also an iron-founder and the developer of the New Town estate on the east side of the town. Unusually, in 1861 there were 131 properties for which no names are entered in the ownership columns, many of them in the newest developments.

By the end of the period under study in July 1871 there were 7,760 residential properties, with an average rateable value of £11.28 owned by a total of 1,541 owners, each holding an average of 5.04 properties. One third of all owners still held a single property each. At the same time there were 61 individual owners holding 20 or more properties together owning 25.70 per cent of the stock. There were also 56 owners with portfolios of £200 or more, including 28 with holdings of 20 or more houses and 28 with fewer than 20 properties, and together owning 25.47 per cent of the housing stock by value.

Charities owned 103 properties with an aggregate rateable value of over £1,250 and miscellaneous clubs and friendly societies owned 165 properties valued at £814.75. The London Assurance Company retained a block of 35 properties in Greyfriars Street and adjacent Newland. James Bury Smith's holdings (Fig. 32a) were little changed in number or

location but their value had grown by 40 per cent to £376.375, implying some shuffling and upgrading of the portfolio, while the builder and brick-maker Stephen Green held 65 properties (Fig. 32b), Henry Marshall, a leading shoe manufacturer, had entered the lists with 58 properties (Fig. 32c), and Peter and George Roberts now held 76 between them. The brewer Pickering Phipps (Fig. 32d) had increased his individual holdings from 20 properties in 1861 to 53 properties worth almost £1,000, many of them street-corner beer houses. Pickering and Richard Phipps jointly held a further 19 properties rated at £526.

The Union Bank had stepped up its holdings from 34 to 51, George and Peter Roberts now had 39 and 37 properties respectively, while a number of builders, the Cosfords, Elijah Pool(e), Henry Wooding and Henry Holding, James Watkin, William Rainbow and William Emery had been expanding their portfolios. Robert Cosford, who held 19 houses with an annual rateable value of £93.50 in 1851 now had 37 worth £418.75, held jointly with Thomas Cosford, but Charles Ireson's portfolio had halved and was now in the hands of his executors. The Walker holdings had been split up, the Porter and Stevenson holdings had been considerably reduced in number, and H. B. Whitworth, a long-standing owner throughout the period who may have previously acted as a trustee, now had only 19 properties in his own name, although still with a total value of £484.50.

Robert Scarborough was also a long-standing owner, with the most static portfolio, and the least known. He is not listed in any census and is described only as "gentleman" in successive directories. His holding was concentrated in St. Giles Street, where he held seven houses, and in The Riding, a small mews at the rear, containing mainly properties worth only £2-3 a year and inhabited mainly by service workers, including labourers, furniture workers and washerwomen as well as a sprinkling of shoe workers. Shoe manufacturers Henry Marshall, Frederick Stimpson, Samuel Jones, the executors of J. Groom, W. Collier, William Porter, W. Starmer, George Bass, James Ainge, and Thomas Wills featured among the main property owners. They were still a minority of the shoe manufacturers recorded in successive directories, and there was little evidence of shoemakers living in "tied" houses owned by shoe manufacturers.

The overwhelming impression given by the study is that property ownership was widely dispersed and even the largest owners were typically successful local businessmen of relatively moderate means. The average age of identified owners was 52.8, at a time when

average life expectancy would be rather less than this, and six were specifically recorded as "retired." Seventeen were born in Northampton, 12 more elsewhere in the county and the remaining four all in contiguous counties, the most remote in Stamford, barely 40 miles from Northampton. None of the many incomers to the town from further afield appeared to have built up a significant property portfolio.

While the number of properties and their rateable value rose substantially between 1844 and 1871 the average number and the average value of holdings declined. A slight rally in average holdings and portfolio size between 1851 and 1861 may well represent a shake-out in smaller landlords less able to withstand the impact of a sharp rise in empty properties in 1861 in the aftermath of the widespread strikes and exodus of shoe-workers from the town. One third of all owners throughout the period held only one property each (Table 7). Half the owners held no more than two properties in 1851, rising to 55 per cent in 1871, and 72 per cent held five or fewer in 1851, rising to 77 per cent in 1871. At the other end of the scale large private owners, defined as individuals with 20 or more properties or portfolios worth £200 a year or more were relatively rare (37 in 1844, 38 in 1851, 50 in 1861 and 61 in 1871; they made up just 4 per cent of owners in 1851 and this had slipped to 3.37 per cent in 1871.

Large owners saw their share of the property stock decline slightly from 29.13 per cent in 1844 to around 25 per cent in each of the ensuing census years while those with portfolios worth £200 or more saw their shares edge down initially before edging up to just over 25 per cent of the total housing stock in 1871, almost certainly as a result of the revaluation of many of the more expensive properties in the main commercial streets. Until the very end of the period individual property holdings remained close rather than compact, with almost 90 per cent of owners in 1871 having property in only one street and 80 per cent with properties in only one of the five parishes. No private individual held as many as 100 properties or portfolios with a rateable value of as much as £1,000. Some holdings, especially the boot and shoe-manufacturers John and Richard Groom and John Stimpson, senior and junior, the banker Henry Billington Whitworth, the Roberts family who combined building with beer retailing and shop-keeping, builder Charles Ireson, and printer Richard Birdsall, persisted in the hands of the same family if not the same individual throughout the period, but the size of the portfolios fluctuated, and others seem to have been short-lived.

Location of holdings

Predictably the largest property holdings by number of units were in the poorest parts of the town, with many small terraces and courts in the hands of a single owner, while a number of landlords evidently held significant portfolios of slum properties, rated on average at under £5 each. Figs. 26-33 show that throughout the period under study even the numerically largest property portfolios were highly concentrated geographically and mainly in the older parts of town, while the newer developments on the east and north side of town were held by different groups of landlords, and in smaller multiples. In 1844 William Porter's 55 properties were located in 18 different streets but 48 of them were in the south-west quadrant of the town. Esther Wilson held 47 properties in nine locations, all of them in an outer band between the sites of the inner and outer walls. Samuel Walker's 75 properties were in 14 different streets, one in the Market Square and the remainder all west of the Horsemarket. Thomas Roberts owned 89 properties, in 15 locations, 48 of them at the lower end of Bridge Street, and George Roberts a further 36 in three adjacent streets on the north-western margins of the town. Thomas Masters, a builder based in St George's Street held 46 properties, all but one of them within a distance of 250 metres of his premises (Fig. 27d).

The average value of properties in different portfolios varied considerably, with the Percivals, Samuel Horsey, the Grooms, Charles Ireson, Frederick Stimpson and James Watkin averaging £10 or more, while Thomas Jones, Thomas Billington, Robert Scarborough, Sarah Jeffery and Thomas Porter all held portfolios at times averaging £5 or less. The charity estates were concentrated in the centre of town and averaged around £12 but the holdings of various building clubs averaged between £5 and £6 except in 1861, a year when the market was suffering considerable dislocation, evidenced by the fact that the owners of 130 properties were not listed in the rate books

A study of the extra-parochial district of St Andrew, which consisted of a compact western district around Grafton Street and a separate section running from Great Russell Street on the north-east across the Wellingborough Road and down to the Billing Road on the east showed that in 1871 61 different owners held six or more properties on extra-parochial land, but only

nine had property in both sections. Of the 21 owners with ten or more properties seven had holdings only in the western district, ten only in the eastern section and only four in both. Even these four included a benefit society and "Thomas Clarke", one of the commonest names in town, which could plausibly have covered at least two separate individuals of that name.

Only sample efforts can be made to identify minor property owners, using the same criteria as in the case of large owners, but a search using Clarke's index of householders for 1851 for the 88 owners of the 320 properties in the small parish of St Peter on the south-western part of the town located 54 of the likely owners, holding 177 of the houses.[4] A search for the owners of 967 properties in the eastern part of the extra-parochial district located the probable owners of 542 properties. Although many of the large individual holdings showed a high degree of concentration, block holdings were also rare. The Lower Mounts contained 26 houses, all owned by J. & R. Groom in 1851, 1861 and again in 1871, while Spring Gardens, an 1830s development, had 44 houses, all in the same ownership in 1861 and shared between just two owners a decade later. There is however a strong negative relationship between property values and the size of holdings. In the very poorest districts such as the courts off the lower end of Bridge Street, in the Riding, Gregory Street, Chapel Gardens and Chapel Place, all in the older part of town rateable values averaged less than £5 and individual owners had an average of five or more houses. In the most recently developed streets of low to middling-valued housing on the eastern edge of town ownership was still highly fractionalised, with average holdings in 1851 and 1871 of 2.0 and 2.4 houses in Bouverie Street, the first street developed on the New Town estate, begun around 1840. In the nearby but earlier and distinctly poorer development of Market Street the average holding was 3.0 in 1851 and 3.71 in 1871.

In the main commercial streets by contrast single holdings were the norm, although owner-occupiers were still in a minority. In the Drapery the average holding was 1.33 properties per owner in 1851, 1.43 in 1861 and 1.28 in 1871. In Gold Street the average holding was 1.46 properties in 1851 and 1.50 20 years later. In the newer and in intermediate value areas, the average was around two houses per owner. In Great Russell Street, a development begun in the 1830s, average holdings rose from 2.0 to 2.4 houses between 1851 and 1871. In Park Street a more recent development between the Mounts and Abington Street the average was

[4] Index compiled by J. Clarke, a local researcher, a copy of which is held in the NRO.

1.77 in both 1851 and 1871 and in the adjacent, slightly newer and more highly rated Kerr Street those figures were 1.63 and 1.59 respectively.

Landlords and tenants.

The relationship between the owners and occupiers of property, landlords and tenants, was everywhere potentially fraught. At best it was based on an uneasy trust. Rents nationally rose from an estimated 5 per cent of gross national product in 1800 to 8 per cent in 1851 and could absorb anything up to one third of the income of the poorest families.[5] Northampton may have been spared the worst of the excesses of slum landlordism, at least on the scale that was seen in larger, poorer and more crowded towns and cities, but working-class tenants everywhere were subject to periods of short-time working and long-term unemployment as well as the natural hazards of illness, for which charity, savings clubs and the assistance of families and friends were only of limited and short-term value. Rent arrears built up whenever work was scarce or seasonal and at times landlords might face the choice between reducing rents, allowing arrears to build up, or being left with empty properties which were immediately at risk of criminal damage and the theft of fittings. Landlords employed agents and rent collectors to enforce rent payment. Tenants in turn frequently damaged property, evaded payment and sold the fittings. Tenants went in fear of summary eviction, landlords at risk of being left with rent arrears and damaged or stolen property. Squatters and "moonlight flits" where tenants simply disappeared were regular features of the urban scene. The Small Tenements Recovery Act of 1838 gave landlords the power to re-possess properties, but in practice it gave them little or no protection against unruly tenants, who all too often pawned the furniture and disappeared without paying the rent.[6]

Rates were a further bone of contention between landlords and tenants. Englander points out that rates levied on real property were the foundation of local authority finance and they grew by leaps and bounds.[7] The payment of rates was apparently an obligation on the tenant, but rate evasion was often widespread. Even the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act of 1869, which encouraged the compounding of rates and rents on poorer properties rated at £8 or less outside London and the big cities and effectively transferred responsibility for the collection and payment of rates on 80 per cent or more of properties, brought little benefit to

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5 D. Englander, *Landlord and Tenant in Urban Britain, 1838-1918,* Oxford, 1983, pp. 5-12.
6 Englander p.45.
7 Englander, *Landlord and Tenant*, p.52

tenants because landlords adjusted rents upwards accordingly. In Northampton however the situation was much more orderly. Lodgers and shared housing were common, but the incidence seems to have been much lower than in larger cities where housing stress was endemic. Even in times of hardship such as the aftermath of the strikes against the introduction of shoe machinery and factory working in 1859-60, rate arrears, regularly noted in the rate books, were generally less than 5 per cent of the total due.

Turnover of tenants and owners

Paternalistic attitudes certainly did exist in urban as well as rural areas, and reliable tenants able and willing to maintain regular rental payments were clearly more desirable than impecunious and unreliable ones who were liable to do a moonlight flit and leave properties empty at short notice. The prevalence of short tenancies subject to a week's notice on either side can only have sharpened the natural antagonism between the two parties. Failure to pay the rent more often than not meant eviction at short notice and the need to find affordable accommodation would have been an ever-present concern. It is not surprising that tenancy turnover rates in Victorian towns and cities were high and Northampton was no exception. In the absence of any large urban estates the lack of any surviving written records of rent receipts and tenancies is not surprising and no attempt has been made here to trace mobility rates and directional movements within Northampton, although the completeness of the rate-book records makes such an exercise possible with the aid of a computer, even if time-consuming, involving the listing of all householder names for around 8,000 properties over a period of 30 years.

Fortunately the availability of rate books for Northampton does make it possible to measure persistence rates for both tenants and owners street by street across the town at intervals of roughly a year at a time. Such measures are still not of course comprehensive. It was easily possible for families to come and go within the intervals between successive rate-books being compiled without leaving any written record behind. Any attempt to measure the number of changes over a continuous period of time is therefore liable to be an understatement. Nevertheless the margins of errors should be roughly similar for all periods and all locations. A sample study of 17 different representative streets and court areas, including both large and

small, rich and poor, containing 940 houses in Northampton between 1841 and 1871 shows an average of 5.92 different tenants over the 30 year period, an overall persistency rate of 5.07 years, and averages of 2.46 tenants per property between 1861 and 1871, 2.67 between 1851 and 1861, and 2.76 in the period from 1841 to 1851, a slight decrease in turnover over time. Throughout there was a broad relationship between the turnover rate of tenants and the rateable values of the properties and streets. In general the more valuable the properties the longer the individual tenancies lasted and the slower the long-term turnover. Conversely among the poorer housing areas, turnover was significantly higher, perhaps as a result of higher death rates or more importantly the greater insecurity of life at the base of the socio-economic pyramid and the smaller margins of protection available against the impact of illness, injury, unemployment and loss of income.

There are however several reservations that must be made. It seems likely that shoe workers and their families were more liable to these cyclical fluctuations than other types of worker, either because of their generally low incomes or because of cyclical and seasonal fluctuations. Secondly it is entirely likely that some landlords may have taken a more lenient approach to rent arrears, either because of their individual natures or because of the difficulties of finding replacement tenants at a time when the proportion of empty properties could rise in places as high as 10 per cent of the total housing stock. It also seems possible that some of the very poorest properties might have enjoyed a slightly higher degree of security simply because as the poorest of the poor there was nowhere else for their tenants to go. Demand at the very bottom of the pyramid may also have been less in conditions when the overall supply of housing was adequate.

Some examples illustrate the variations. In Abington Street an upmarket residential, commercial and professional street of around 100 houses of well above average rateable values, the average number of tenants over the 30 year period from 1841 to 1871 was 4.27, the equivalent of a persistency rate of 7.03 years. In nearby St. Giles Street, containing 50 houses of slightly lower rateable values the average number of tenants was 5.14 and the persistency rate 5.84 years. Between them, in Fish Street composed of middle-range properties with a strong commercial character the number of tenants rose to 6.05 and the persistency rate fell to 4.96 years. But in The Riding, a cul-de sac of small houses between

Abington Street and St Giles Street, properties were mostly owned by a single landlord, Robert Scarborough, and were occupied mainly by families engaged in service trades such as grooms, gardeners and cooks and washer-women. Here the turnover rate fell to 4.68 tenants and the persistency rate rose to 6.41 years. In the absence of any other corroborative details, it may well be that Scarborough took a more enlightened view of arrears than most other landlords, or that service trades were inherently more stable than shoe-making. Certainly in Wellington Street, a "middling" street running northwards at right angles to Abington Street the tenancy rate rose to 5.62 and the persistency rate fell accordingly to 5.34 years; in the 28 poorer houses contained in the courts leading off Wellington Street the tenancy turnover during the 30 year period was 6.96 and the persistency rate 4.31 years.

Further north in the heartland of the shoe-working district of St. Sepulchre parish the turnover rates in Leicester Street and Nelson Street, two parallel streets leading off the Barrack Road, built before 1820 and inhabited mainly by shoe workers, the average numbers of tenancies per house were 6.21 and 5.67 and persistency rates 4.83 and 5.29 years respectively. Deeper into the shoe-working heartland Bath Street itself recorded an average of 5.17 tenants in the 30 year period and a persistency rate of 5.80 years while the complex of courts and terraces leading off Bath Street itself and running down to the river showed 8.21 tenancies and a persistency rate of only 3.65 years. At the very bottom end of the housing scale however, in the nearby complex of 39 houses just off Grafton Street, including Johnson's Row and Salt Box Row, where individual properties were rated at around £2 a year, tenancy totals were 6.23 and persistency rates 4.82 years.

In the southern part of the town in the upper end of Bridge Street, a street of up-market houses, many of them including commercial premises, the turnover rate was 4.27 and the persistency rate 7.03 years. Further down towards the river in lower Bridge Street, also with a mixture of residential properties and commercial premises and rather lower average rateable values, turnover rates were 5.61 and persistency rates 5.35 years, while in the complex of courts on either side of lower Bridge Street, an area of old housing adjacent to the river and the river and canal wharves that brought in the bulk of the heavy goods needed by the town, prone to flooding and disease, and occupied mainly by general labourers, turnover rates rose to 8.25 and persistency rates fell to 3.64 years. Here again however there were significant

differences between the experiences of individual courts with turnover rates varying between six and 12 per house over the 30 year period, and the policies of various owners may well have been decisive.

Properties changed hands much less frequently than tenants. Tenancy turnover rates were generally between two and three times higher than the turnover rates for ownership of the same properties but the relationship between rateable value and changes of ownership are much less definite. Individual properties in the most up-market streets were often owned by the same family and even the same individual throughout the period, and the average numbers of owners over the 30 year period were consistently less than two (1.58 in Abington Street, 1.84 in St. Giles Street, and 1.98 in the up-market top end of Bridge Street). This compared with 1.67 in Wellington Street, 1.75 in Bath Street, and 2.15 in the lower end of Bridge Street. Elsewhere the number of owners over the whole period ranged between two and three in the middling parts of town (2.02 in Nelson Street, 2.28 in Leicester Street, 2.37 in Fish Street, and 2.73 in the courts and terraces in the Bath Street complex). Some of the poorest and therefore least desirable properties changed hands less often than might be expected however – with just 2.36 owners in three decades in the complex of poor properties off Grafton Street discussed above and only 2.11 in the Bridge Street courts. Ownership changes in individual courts, where blocks of properties were often wholly owned by a single individual, were also remarkably few, exceptionally just 1.11 in the Riding, where Robert Scarborough owned almost all the properties for almost the entire period.

Women, money and property

Property would have played a crucial role in supporting individuals too old to work as well as the large numbers of widows and dependent children left by the early deaths or disablement of the chief bread-winner. Barred from the vote, denied access to universities and subject to the financial dictates of their husbands, the status of women in mid nineteenth-century Britain was decidedly inferior and the plight of widows particularly serious. In mid-Victorian Northampton a relatively high proportion of women were recorded as employed, but their opportunities were confined largely to the relatively poorly-paid shoe trades, which provided them with at best the opportunities to supplement the earnings of male workers, in return for earnings that were, as indicated by the author of the tract in *Good Words* cited in Chapter 3,

generally barely a third of the income adult males could earn. Domestic service was the second most frequent employment available to women.

But the rate books make it clear that women were also significant property owners in their own right, unrecorded as such in the censuses, and more would have been the beneficiaries of property listed in the ownership of executors and agents. In 1871 around 100 different executors are shown as the owners of about 800 houses or just over ten per cent of all rated properties. Tracing individual female owners presents some difficulties especially if initials only are recorded and a run of entries may be needed to locate a title (Mrs. or Miss) or forename, but 187 individual women can be identified as the direct owners of a further 670 houses, which together with executors' holdings made up about 18 per cent of the houses plus a number of commercial properties.

A disproportionately large number owned just one or two houses, and there were only two women among the large owners recorded with 20 or more properties each. In 1844 Esther Wilson, the only entry of that name, was listed in the rate books as the owner of a portfolio of 47 properties with a combined rateable value of £380. Her name recurs in 1851 when she was listed in the census as "annuitant", aged 73, born in Northampton and living with her son-in-law, Henry Billington Whitworth, by then the Borough Treasurer, at 9, George Row, the most expensive residential property in the town and rated at £144 a year. She appears again in 1861 with 45 houses worth £350, but she disposed of a property in Silver Street to William Hollis in 1863 and her more valuable Bridge Street houses passed to Whitworth in 1867, and her holdings in Wellington Street to Henry Marshall in 1870.

Her holdings on the All Saints side of Silver Street passed in 1863 to Esther Gibson, but Esther Wilson retained houses in Broad Street in her name into 1871, by which time she would have been 93 if still alive. The only Esther Gibson listed in 1851 was a 37 year old woman living with her husband, a leather dresser, and family in a very modest house in St Andrew's Gardens, but a woman of that name remained a minor property owner throughout the period under study. A Mrs. Jeffery was listed as the owner of six houses in Bath Street in 1844 and again in 1851 while a John Jeffery also held a small portfolio on both dates. In 1856 however Sarah Jeffery took over John Jeffery's portfolio and by 1871 she was recorded as a

48-year old widow, born in the village of Kislingbury and living in a £27 rented house in Albion Terrace. At that point she had a substantial portfolio of poor-quality properties rated at £158.50, mainly in and around the court dwellings at the western end of Bath Street.

In the 1851 census a substantial sub-cast of women, virtually all recorded as widows and whose occupations were listed as “house proprietor” or “income from property” or “income from rents” included Elizabeth Dumbleton, living in Marefair, Jane Percival, Mary Alice Gee and Alice Brice, living (separately) in Abington Street, Elizabeth Gee in Sheep Street, Eliza Cook in Royal Terrace, Mary Eyston and Anna Rice in Leicester Terrace, Ann Linnell and Elizabeth Millard in Regent Square, Charlotte Outlaw in Newland and Mary Barwell in the Mayorhold, Sophia Horsey and Martha Wykes in the Horsemarket and Susannah Waterfield living in Marefair. These were all slightly sub-prime locations with rateable values of around £20 a year rather than the prime locations along the Billing Road occupied by families with male heads and equipped with servants. All had useful portfolios of property but none attained the status of large owner with 20 or more properties.

Conclusion

The overwhelming impression obtained from this study is the small scale and localised nature of the activities of builders and owners of property. Although the town remained throughout the period a compact physical unit little more than a mile across and easily crossed on foot in a matter of ten to fifteen minutes, development was largely in the hands of maybe two dozen different builders, of whom only two or three, notably the Cosfords, clearly built more than two dozen houses in a year and then only at the very peak of expansion at the very end of the period. This may in part be a reflection of the very fragmented ownership of potential building land on the outskirts of the eighteenth-century town, but it may also be the result of heavy reliance on limited local sources of capital and the small scale of local industrial firms, the persistence of home-working until the last decade of the period under study and the consequent lack of an incentive to mass-produce housing for workers employed in large nearby factories, of which there were none before 1860.

The small scale of the local building firms was mirrored in the small scale of individual property holdings, which rarely exceeded 50 houses with combined rateable values of £200, or extended over large areas. There is little sign of a real scarcity of available housing, relatively few houses in multiple occupation, and although many of the larger owners can be positively identified as local worthies, including town dignitaries such as H. B. Whitworth and prominent businessmen and builders, there is little evidence of a wealthy class of aggressively capitalist landlords similar to those described by social commentators in larger British cities where housing stress was commonplace, and certainly nothing like the circumstances described by for example Harvey in mid nineteenth-century Paris.[8]

The largest and most compact holdings by number were usually in the poorest streets. But where the individual owners can also be traced to houses in the town, their own homes were almost entirely in modest properties and the individual owners of the largest properties in the commercial core and the emerging up-market residential districts were rarely landlords with holdings elsewhere in the town. Throughout the period local charities were the largest single owners, by number and by value of their portfolios, most of their holdings were located in the better-class properties in the main streets of the town and had probably been built up from individual bequests over long periods of time. Although they were sometimes active in developing their properties, they do not appear to have acquired or disposed of properties frequently throughout the period. A slow churn was the norm rather than frenetic dealings. Individual owners appear to have built up their holdings piecemeal and to have held on to the core of their holdings over several decades at a time, in many cases passing ownership from father to son, from individuals to their widows or to their executors. Women owners of property were a minority, but a significant and consistent minority.

[8] D. W. Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity,* London, 2003, pp.197-8.

Chapter 7

Commercial Property and Services.

More than 90 per cent of the entries in rate books refer to residential properties, which give the town its essential social characteristics. But house-building in Northampton and other growing Victorian towns and cities was matched by the erection of more public buildings and a parallel increase in commercial premises. This chapter will consider the parallel growth of public buildings and of commercial property, followed by a review of the growth of commercial, professional and industrial activities that serviced and employed the expanding town.

Public buildings

The Bridge Street railway station opened in 1845, a new Borough Gaol in 1846, a large General Lunatic Asylum in 1848, a second railway station on the site of the old castle in 1859, and a new Town Hall in 1864. New churches were opened as St Katharine's in 1839, St Andrew's in 1849, and St Edmund's in 1852 and a Roman Catholic cathedral in 1864, replacing an earlier chapel of St. Felix. The Convent of Notre Dame followed in 1871. The religious census of 1851 indicates the strength of non-conformism, and several new meeting houses were built to match the growing population. Several new schools were opened to cater for the increased numbers of children and the requirements of Forster's Education Act of 1870.

Commercial buildings.

Public buildings are not recorded in the rate books, but the books record the rateable values, occupiers and owners of houses with mixed uses, such as "house and warehouse", "house and workshop", "house and bake-house", "house and shop", as well as purely commercial properties. These include specialist stores and general shops, hotels, public houses and beer-houses, workshops, premises, wharves and warehouses as well as yards, stables, cow-houses,

piggeries, sheds and gardens. Most have a single specified use but a number have multiple functions, such as “wharf, warehouse and yard.”

Table 8 summarises the growth in the number and value of commercial properties and changes in the structure of the sector between 1841 and 1871. Commercial buildings made up an increasing share of the rated property stock, indicating the rapid growth of commercial and industrial activities, initially attached to or operating from mixed residential and commercial sites but concentrated increasingly in purpose-built buildings, marking a progressive segregation of activities and specialisation of functions. The number of mixed-use properties halved over time and declined in total value after 1851, but purely commercial sites more than doubled in number and grew fivefold in value, more than doubling in value after 1861 alone, while the combined value of mixed-use and commercial properties and consequently their contribution to the rates rose in absolute and relative terms. Mixed-use properties formed almost half the total commercial property stock at the start of the period, but the number of mixed residential and commercial properties declined sharply between 1851 and 1861 and made up only one in five sites by 1871.

Mixed residential and commercial properties and commercial properties with more than one function only have single rateable values, and disentangling the different elements presents some challenges. For the purposes of the following analysis one third of the value of mixed residential and commercial properties has been assigned to the commercial element. In the case of commercial properties with more than one function, the rateable value has been allocated between the components, with the largest share attributed to the first named function. In the case of a “wharf, warehouse and shop” with a combined rateable value of £45 for example, the wharf has been allocated a value of £20, the warehouse £15 and the shop £10. Stables and yards attached to residential properties have been ignored, as have separate stables and yards with rateable values of £2 or less, which implies they were for private rather than commercial use. Only those with larger values that imply commercial use have been included.

The trend towards specialisation is clear. In 1844 the rate books listed 167 different commercial activities on mixed sites and 172 different activities on purely commercial sites. By 1851 mixed sites held 139 different activities and commercial sites held 236 activities. In

1861 mixed sites hosted 68 activities and commercial sites 364 different activities, and in 1871 mixed sites held 79 activities and commercial sites held 347 activities. Combining the totals for mixed use and specialised commercial activities, in 1844 there were 87 warehouses, 33 workshops, 15 offices, 57 premises, six wharves, 20 yards (including brickyards), 12 maltings and three breweries listed, together with 60 shops, 34 bake-houses and five slaughterhouses most of which were located in mixed residential and commercial premises. Along with the general shift from mixed to specialised commercial premises, there followed a steep rise in the combined numbers of warehouses, from 87 in 1844 to 100 in 1851, 137 in 1861 and 186 in 1871, while workshops went from 33 in 1844 to 41 in 1851 before falling back to 19 in 1861 and 24 in 1871. The number of yards rose from 20 in 1844 to 25 in 1851 and 50 in 1861 before falling to just 33 in 1871. There was a very marked decline in the number of bake-houses from 34 in 1844 and 32 in 1851 to just eight in 1861 and nine in 1871. The number of "shops" rose from 60 in 1844 to 66 in 1851, 80 in 1861 and back to 69 in 1871. Among specialist activities were six currier's shops in 1844, eight in 1851, ten in 1861 and just two in 1871, with others perhaps replaced by a recently built large tan-yard with a rateable value of £100.

Rateable values in the town roughly doubled to £94,000 between 1844 and1871 but the combined rateable values of mixed-use and commercial properties more than trebled from £5,700 to more than £14,000, The number of mixed-use and specialised commercial premises rose from just over 300 in 1844 to 400 in 1871, levelling off between 1861 and 1871; while the number of mixed properties declined sharply during the 1850s the specialised commercial sector grew rapidly, doubling in numbers and increasing more than fivefold in value. The total number of shops increased by only about half a dozen, but their rateable values rose fivefold, the number of premises and workshops fell in number, but values rose fivefold. Over the same period the number of offices doubled to around 30 but rateable values were little changed. Warehouses also doubled in number to 186, and their value rose fivefold to around £5,000. Numerous small warehouses were little changed in value but from 1860 several large new warehouses, soon to become factories, appeared on the Mounts, in the Horsemarket and in the new streets between the Wellingborough and Billing Roads, especially Stockley and Thenford streets, ushering in an era of new factory building that lasted until the end of the century. In sharp contrast to factories built elsewhere for heavy industry, the shoe factories of Northampton created little smoke or noise and could be planted

at frequent intervals in the newly built suburban streets providing short journeys to work for local residents.

In 1861 there were still relatively few very large mixed and specialised commercial properties. The first large shoe "warehouses" built by Isaac and Co and by Moses Philip Manfield to take advantage of the introduction of mass production and factory working from 1858 onwards are recorded in the 1861 rate books but they are rated at only £100 each, at a time when two large breweries were rated at £200 and £250 respectively. In 1861 there were only 16 mixed and 18 commercial properties rated at £50 or more. During the 1860s however the number and value of very large mixed and specialist sites rose significantly. By 1871 there were 16 mixed and 33 commercial properties valued at £50 or more. The gas-works alone was enlarged in the 1860s and by 1871 was valued at £1,560, the warehouse of Isaac and Co. was valued at £216, that of Moses Philip Manfield at £108. There were also sharp increases in the value of the three largest local breweries, with Phipps' rated at £583, Phillips Brothers' at £300 and Ratcliffe & Jeffery's at £225. Two banks and two foundries, two mills and some other warehouses were also rated at over £150. The average valuation of several smaller commercial properties as well as Manfield's warehouse do not appear to have been increased, suggesting that the general rise in the value of commercial properties during the 1860s was probably the result of expansion rather than revaluation.

The fastest growth took place in warehouses, workshops, premises and shops. Warehouses alone trebled in number and grew sevenfold in value. Workshops and premises were little changed in number but grew fivefold in value, while shops doubled in number and seven-fold in value. Offices also became significantly more important, but the number and value of bake-houses both mixed and specialised fell sharply in the 1850s, presumably because of an increase in the numbers of newly-built properties with ovens for home baking or a switch to shop-bought bread.

Warehouses

While all types of commercial properties contributed to the developing infrastructure, warehouses were the most numerous and the most relevant to the commercial development of the town. The number of residential properties with warehouses attached varied relatively little over time from 29 in 1844 to 23 in 1871 while the number of separate warehouse sites

doubled from 58 in 1844 to 123 in 1861 and rose again to 163 in 1871. Mixed sites were initially more highly rated but their average rateable value changed little over time while the number and average rateable value of specialised warehouse sites rose rapidly, from 58 in 1844 to 163 in 1871, and their average rateable value climbed from around £12 in 1844 and 1851 to £18 in 1861 and £29 in 1871, mainly but not exclusively because of the rising number of very large warehouses.

The number of small warehouses rated at £10 or less doubled over the period to 68 in 1871, but progressively larger warehouses became more numerous; in 1844 there were 30 mixed houses and warehouses with an average combined rateable value of £33.86, of which ten had combined rateable values of £40 or more, the largest rated at £96 in the Market Square. By 1851 there were 19 mixed houses with warehouses with average values of £34.82 including nine worth £40 or more. In 1861 there were 13 mixed houses and warehouses with average values of £35.50 but only four worth £40 or more. By 1871 however there were 21 mixed houses and warehouses with average value of just £17.10 but seven were worth £40 or more. The largest mixed house and warehouse was worth £96 in 1844 and 1851, £100 in 1861 and £225 in 1871.

The number and combined value of specialist warehouses meanwhile rose from 57 averaging £11.76 in 1844, 84 averaging £11.79 in 1851, 122 averaging £16.05 in 1861 and 165 averaging £28.60 in 1871 but the number individually worth £40 rose from two in 1844 and four in 1851 to ten in 1861 and 33 in 1871. No warehouses were rated at £100 or more in 1844 or 1851, and just two in 1861, both in Fleetwood Place, but there were 12 by 1871, including three in Fleetwood Place, two in Sheep Street, two in lower Bridge Street, and one each in Freeschool Street, Silver Street, St. Giles Street, the Market Square and Black Lion Hill.

Warehouses were widely distributed across the older parts of town both in 1851 and again in 1871. (Figs. 34, 35). There was a marked concentration along the river, canal and rail links on the south side of the town, where general storage warehouses were to be expected, and around the commercial centre, where some were associated with large retailers. There was also a large and increasing concentration over time in Newland and Fleetwood Place/Campbell Square, where three very large warehouses were opened by Isaac, Campbell, Moses Philip Manfield and Turner, Hyde & Co., as well as numerous smaller warehouses in

the Horsemarket and in St Andrews, an area with a long-established concentration of shoe workers. But as late as 1871 there were relatively few warehouses in the newer districts on the east side of town.

The rate books do not record the uses to which individual premises were put but the names of the occupiers of individual sites provide some clues. There were 82 probable footwear warehouses with a combined rateable value of £1,271 in 1851, rising to 124, valued at £2,198 in 1861 and 173, worth £4,388 in 1871. Average values rose from £15.5 in 1851 to £17.1 in 1861 and then £28 by 1871. The surge in average values in the 1860s could have been the result of differential valuation increases imposed on commercial premises in an attempt to increase revenues, but the valuations on a number of small premises appear not to have changed, implying that the larger premises had been physically enlarged.

The number of retail shops rose, but much more slowly over time; the number of mixed residential properties with shops attached declined from 40 in 1844 to just 20 in 1861 and 31 in 1871 while stand-alone sites increased from 17 in 1844 to 54 in 1861 before falling back to 34 in 1871. The average value of mixed-use shop sites doubled to £27 while the average value of stand-alone sites remained little changed at around £7. The trend towards specialisation and concentration can be clearly seen among sites described as workshops. The number of mixed sites fell while the number of specialised sites rose from 18 in 1844 to 25 in 1851 but then fell slightly to 17 in 1871, while average value climbed from £6 in 1844 and £7 in 1851 to £14 in 1861 and £18 in 1871. Workshops in 1871 were scattered across the southern parts of the town with a more easterly bias than shops. A small number of sites, mainly in the earlier part of the period, were listed as simply as “premises”, most of them attached to large residential sites in the central core. The number of locations specifically described as offices doubled over time to 26 in 1861 and 1871, but their average rateable values showed little change. Offices were mainly located in the central core of the town with hotspots in the old Corn Exchange building on the corner of Sheep Street, the Drapery and the Market Square, and by 1871 also in Derngate.

Commercial property ownership

The ownership of commercial property followed a similar pattern to residential property, with ownership widely spread, although most were held by private owners rather than institutions.

Only eleven owners held properties rated at more than £100 in 1844, including mixed and commercial properties. The largest were J&S Adnitt, a corn, coal and slate merchant, Ann Dicey the owner of the Northampton Mercury newspaper, William Higgins, corn, coal and slate merchant and sometime owner of the George Inn, the largest and most prestigious of the town's coaching inns, Henry Billington Whitworth, a landowner, banker and civic dignitary, the Corn Exchange, which operated what would now be called a business centre with a dozen offices and rooms let out to local businesses, Samuel Horsey, a coal and timber merchant, Pickering and Richard Phipps, owners of a local brewery that survived as an independent company until the 1960s, John Perry senior and junior, owners of the local flour mill, Jane and Francis Mulliner, owners of a similarly long-lived coach-building business, Thomas Grundy, an iron-founder, brewer and property developer, and various charities which held commercial properties rated at just over £100.

The number of similar substantial holdings rose to 13 in 1851, 19 in 1861 and 28 in 1871. Some of the original owners remained constant throughout, but by 1871 the Gas Company had become the largest single owner by far, followed by the brewers, Phillips Brothers, Phipps, and Ratliffe & Jeffery, all near the South Bridge and the Northamptonshire Union Bank, a limited company that grew out of the partnership established by the brothers John and Samuel Percival, and took over much of their private portfolio after their deaths in 1852 and 1849. Others included Thomas S. Wright, draper and tailor with two large premises on the Market Square and Mercers' Row, Blewett & Shaw, oil millers and seed-crushers who owned two large warehouses in Bridge Street, and Thomas Shaw with premises nearby, James Wetherell, shoe manufacturer, currier and leather dresser, William Hollis, shoe manufacturer and leather seller, Francis Homan, another shoe manufacturer with a warehouse in St. Giles Street, Samuel Isaacs, a wealthy shoe wholesaler who subsequently donated the elaborate cast-iron fountain that stood as centre-piece to the Market Square until 1962, Moses Manfield, another successful shoe wholesaler and subsequent manufacturer, whose family name if not business endured into the mid twentieth century, Rand E. Greenough, a maltster, corn and coal merchant, whose business survives to this day, Charles and Henry Mobbs, by then owner of a foundry in Angel Street, and Samuel Walker a tailor, both of whose businesses continued from 1844 through to 1871.

Many of these owners of commercial property were also owners of residential property, although it is notable that even the combined residential and commercial holdings of the

principal charities did not much exceed £1,100 in rateable value and the largest individual residential property owners, James Bury Smith, Stephen Green, Henry Marshall and the Roberts family hardly feature in the commercial lists. But the vast majority of commercial businesses must have operated from rented premises.

Shops, services, manufacturers, craftsmen and white collar workers, masters and men.

The rate books provide details on the physical expansion of the commercial sector, but are often not detailed enough to provide information on the spread of the craft, commercial, retail and service trades, and the censuses at ten year intervals lack detail on the size and value of activities. Fortunately there is a ready supply of supplementary information on these activities and their locations in trade directories which cover all counties, towns and cities from the early years of the nineteenth century onwards, often at intervals of less than ten years. The value of trade directories in providing information on the supply of commercial services and their shortcomings has been discussed by Shaw.[1] Information from directories cannot be as comprehensive as the information contained in the nearest census or the supplementary information available from the rate books. There is no way of ensuring that the entries are as accurate, still less as complete, and some enterprises would have been too small to attract the notice of the compilers or were unwilling to pay any charges for inclusion. There is also no way of assessing the size and importance of individual entries in terms of employment or turnover. The coverage of individual directories also varies, with time and with the various publishers. Successive directories of Northampton have different publishers and contain anything from 1,000 to 2,000 entries, but the numbers do not rise exponentially, and clearly some publishers were more selective than others. But the commercial importance of directories in advertising and promoting products is obvious, and the sheer number of entries in relation to population supports the conclusion that they are valuable supplementary sources of information, especially on the distribution patterns of different types of commercial activity.

The directories of Northampton were compiled for commercial rather than demographic purposes but they may well have been quite comprehensive. Kelly's Directory for 1847 for

[1] G. Shaw, 'British directories as sources in historical geography', *Trans. IBG*, Historical Research Series **8**, (1982), p.34.

example records 1,037 entries for a town with an (interpolated) population of about 24,500 or one entry for every 23-24 persons, while the 1869 Post Office Directory records 1,482 entries for a town with a population of around 39,000 or about one entry for 26 people. The 1869 directory included 1,422 individual entries in the commercial section, the overwhelming majority of them named individuals plus a sprinkling of offices and premises, mostly with named managers included. Some will have been non-resident but a check with census entries indicates that the directory entries mostly referred to individuals who both lived and worked at the addresses recorded. The conversion of some mixed-used properties to specialist shops, offices and storage facilities had already begun, but gas and water had been laid on in central streets; and unlike most northern industrial cities at the time Northampton's economy was overwhelmingly dominated by light industry that created relatively little smoke or noise and the advantages of living above the shop in most cases still exceeded the appeal of a flight to the suburbs. The total number of entries represented a little more than 3.5 per cent of the likely total resident population of the town, say 40,000, at the time of publication, two years prior to the 1871 census.

Individual entries included 112 shoe manufacturers (7.88 per cent of the total entries) including about a dozen specialist shoe closers or shoe upper-makers, and 50 shoe makers (3.52 per cent), together accounting for 11.40 per cent of all entries. Other entries included a total of 78 butchers (5.49 per cent), 41 bakers (2.88 per cent), 114 general shopkeepers (8.02 per cent) and 133 beer sellers (9.35 per cent) as well as 62 hotels and public houses (4.36 per cent), altogether accounting for 30.1 per cent of the total. The largest single category consisted of 412 specialist retailers (28.97 per cent), followed by 250 entries classed as craftsmen or manufacturers (17.58 per cent), 119 professional or white collar workers (8.37 per cent), and 50 who can be linked to the building trades (3.52 per cent).

All entries listed in Slater's Directory of Northampton in 1869 have been divided into categories; general retailers include butchers, and bakers, beer sellers and shopkeepers, all of which were local and widespread, serving local communities. Hotels and named public houses have also been separately identified although the distinction between beer-sellers and public houses may not always have been strictly defined. A much larger category of specialised retail outlets can be identified, including clothiers, drapers, hatters, hosiers,

grocers, greengrocers, fishmongers, merchants and dealers of all kinds, and also retail outlets such as saddlers, where goods are sold to the public although the product may also have been made on the premises. This category also includes retail services such as hairdressers where although there is no product, access to the public was paramount.

A separate category has been created to include manufacturers and craft activities such as milliners and tailors, all of whom could and would have worked behind the scenes, although they may also have had retail outlets at street level, in addition to conventional manufacturing activities such as foundries, breweries, carriage builders, packing case makers, soda-water and ginger-beer makers. Another separate category has also been created for trades closely linked to building, including builders, carpenters and joiners, plumbers, plasterers, painters and glaziers. Shoe manufacturers and shoe-makers who have been separately identified in the directories form a further category, although the terminology is clearly not strict enough to differentiate fully between master craftsmen, working mainly for the retail trade and wholesalers, manufacturers and makers, all mass-producing footwear for the wider trade, and presumably using large numbers of outworkers as well as a small but growing number of in-house workers employed in the buildings that had begun to appear only in the preceding ten years. Finally professional entries including doctors, lawyers and various office activities have been grouped together under the heading of white collar trades.

The results have been plotted on a series of choropleth maps (Figs. 36-39), listing the number of entries as a percentage of the resident population of the appropriate street in the census of 1871 and showing the concentrations of commercial and professional services in the commercial core. A parallel series of dot-maps show the distribution of various individual trades and services by street (Figs. 40-47). As in previous chapters the dots have been allocated at random by computer within the appropriate polygons on each map, and do not attempt to represent precise locations such as street corners. But the relatively small size of all individual polygons ensures that the overall impression is visually close to the reality on the ground. Together they show the heavy concentration of activities recorded in the directories in the central core and especially the main thoroughfares, including upper and lower Bridge Street, with 59 and 82 entries respectively, Marefair (44), Gold Street (69), Abington Street (67) and St. Giles Street (43), the Horsemarket (46), Sheep Street (42),

Newland (52), The Drapery (43), the Market Square (33), College Street (22), Derngate (15) and Mercers Row (12). In all these streets entries totalled between 10 per cent and 20 per cent of the population, rising to more than 25 per cent in Mercers Row, Drum Lane, the Parade and Bradshaw Street. Extensions to the core streets including Wellington Place and Hope's Place, Regent Square and the Mayorhold on the north, Abington Square and Abington Terrace on the east also recorded directory entries accounting for more than 10 per cent of their inhabitants.

There were smaller concentrations along secondary streets such as the Wellingborough Road/Brier Lane, the Kettering Road and Grafton Street, where entries ranged around 5 per cent of the total number of inhabitants, reaching just over 10 per cent on the south side of Brier Lane. The maps also show the dearth of commercial activities in the upmarket residential housing along the Billing Road, the Kingsthorpe Road and the adjacent streets including the newly-built mid-market developments of Alexandra and Denmark Roads, and the newest streets, including Albert, Cyril and Thenford Streets, off the north side of the Billing Road, where the Freehold Land Society barred licensed premises and other commercial activities may have been slow to arrive, and the two year gap between the appearance of the directory and the taking of the census may possibly have been significant. In all these streets commercial entries totalled less than 2 per cent of the inhabitants.

Maps also show the virtual absence of commercial and entrepreneurial activities in the very poorest streets and courts, almost entirely occupied by the emerging proletariat. In established complexes such as Bath Street and Scarletwell Street, St. Mary's Street and Castle Street with between 200 and 600 inhabitants each, only between 3 and 5 per cent of their inhabitants rated entries in the directory. Small concentrations can be seen in selected streets such as Lawrence Street, which had eleven entries compared with just eight in the adjacent Nelson, Leicester and Adelaide streets combined. Even so the entries in Lawrence Street amounted to little more than 3 per cent of the 340 inhabitants, and in their neighbours less than 1 per cent. Newer stretches of working-class housing including the streets off Bailiff Street, the New Town estate and the small group of newly-built houses around the site of the old castle had very few entries, and 181 of 335 separate streets, including all the back-street courts, had none at all.

The pattern of entries in different types of trades varied considerably across the town. Many small traders operated on Wednesdays and Saturdays from stalls in the Market Square itself, reputed to be one of the largest in England with over 10,000 square feet of space. Neither the rate books nor the directories list market traders, but the combined rateable value of the stalls rose from £60 a year in 1844 to £90 in 1852, £150 in 1857 and £225 in 1864-71. The Market Square also accommodated the town's twice-weekly livestock market, until the increasing demand for space eventually forced the town to transfer the livestock market to a purpose-built new site opened in 1873 in Cattle Market Road, at the western end of Cow Meadow, behind the courts on the east side of Bridge Street.

The distribution patterns of specialist retailers, craftsmen and manufacturers and white collar and professionals were more marked, and differences can be clearly seen in Figs. 41-47. Specialist retail outlets made up almost half the entries in the majority of streets in the town core, in and around the Market Square, rising to more than half in the Drapery, Gold Street and the upper part of Bridge Street, compared with the town average of 28.97 per cent. Specialised outlets such as coal and corn and slate merchants were significant alongside the river and canal and concentrated in the lower end of Bridge Street.

Small craftsmen and manufacturers were more widely distributed, accounting for around 20 per cent of the entries in the town core, rising to around 25 per cent in an inner ring of secondary streets around the retail core, especially College Street, King Street, Silver Street and Bearward Street, Victoria Street, St. Giles Street and Fish Street. They also made up a quarter of the entries in most of the smaller streets in the southern half of the town, including Gas Street, Woolmonger Street and especially St. John's Lane and Kingswell Street. The southern streets along the river and canal also contained almost all the heavier industries as well as the outlets for heavy goods,

White collar professions, surgeons, solicitors, accountants, banks and specialised offices were more heavily concentrated, and made up a quarter of the entries in Abington Street and the adjoining Wood Street and Wellington Street, rising to around a third in the Market Square

and the Parade. White collar entries also made up around one fifth of the total in Sheep Street, Newland, and St. Giles Street, together forming a distinct concentration with an easterly bias. Professional services were more highly concentrated, with a bias to the eastern half of the old town, while retailers, craftsmen and "manufacturers" more closely aligned to the commercial core.

Small shopkeepers and beer sellers with permanent premises, listed in the directories and supplying daily needs were widely distributed, as were butchers (and bakers), although they were most numerous around the inner core, (licensed premises were banned on land developed by the Freehold Land Society). Builders were too few and widely scattered to create any specialised concentrations. The distribution of listed shoe manufacturers and shoe makers is also widely spread but they are most strongly represented in the inner streets around the core; there were eleven in the Horsemarket and eight in Newland alone. The distribution pattern of specialist shoe trades was however in marked contrast to the heavy concentration of ordinary shoe-workers, crammed into the back streets and courts in the outer horseshoe of poor housing. The differences can be clearly seen in Fig. 47, where the dots showing the distribution of shoe businesses recorded in the directory have been superimposed on a base map showing the main concentrations of ordinary shoe workers.

Out of 162 separate entries in the shoemaking category, including 112 shoe manufacturers and closers and 50 makers, less than a dozen were specifically listed as employers in the census; the remainder may well have been middling masters and wholesalers. Entry to the employer class was relatively easy, requiring little capital or space at least until the start of the factory system after 1859, and entries in the local press recording the creation and dissolution of partnerships were so numerous that the failure rate must have been correspondingly high. But the potential rewards were evidently high enough to justify the effort. At any one time between the handful of individuals who merited an entry in the directory and the many who did not there must have been close business links based on a string of warehouses or "shops" and a handful of nascent factories, but the masters clearly did not always live or work among the men.

Conclusion

The commercial property sector and its activities expanded substantially in size and scale during the period, but the specialised commercial sector grew substantially faster than the mixed residential and commercial activities, especially in the 1860s as a result of the building of new and enlarged industrial premises including breweries, foundries and shoe warehouses. Mid nineteenth-century Northampton possessed a distinct and thriving commercial district, with a broad range of activities concentrated in the central core around the Market Square and the streets radiating from it. Over time the industrial, commercial and shoe-making districts became increasingly distinct and segregated. Small shop-keepers, butchers, bakers and beer-sellers supplying daily needs were widely distributed. Stalls on the Market Square would have provided accommodation for the small traders who sold items that made up weekly or occasional purchases and justified a longer journey over a wider range. Primary services were heavily concentrated in the commercial core of the town, but each category had its distinctive needs and distribution patterns. Large retail outlets were concentrated in the Market Square and the Drapery and immediately adjacent streets where large premises were available. Professional services, usually still delivered by individuals who lived on the premises, were most strongly attracted to good housing in slightly quieter streets.

Heavy industrial activities including mills, breweries and foundries and the gas works were however concentrated on the southern edge, along the river, canal and railway, commercial activities including retailing and professional services were still overwhelmingly in the central core, while the 1860s saw the start of a transition from home-based handicraft shoemaking to machine-made factory footwear industry, leading to the proliferation and expansion of shoe “warehouses” mainly on the northern side of town, convenient for the developing network of working class residential streets.

Chapter 8

The Urban Explosion in Victorian England.

The Victorian era brought population increases and population movements on an unprecedented scale throughout the UK. Although increases never again attained the record rate of 18 per cent recorded for England & Wales between 1811 and 1821, total population numbers continued to rise by over 10 per cent a decade. At the same time numbers were rising rapidly in most substantial urban centres, while total numbers in many rural parishes, including small market towns, peaked and then began to fall, as new manufacturing industries moved into towns and cities in search of labour to support mass-production and population moved to towns, and especially factory towns, in search of work and social opportunities.

Between 1811 and 1861 alone the populations of Liverpool and Preston increased tenfold, and Bradford eightfold.[1] Death rates remained high nationally until the 1860s: in cities they were higher than in the countryside, reflecting the incidence of recurring epidemics and the general effects of overcrowding, poor sanitation, and pollution, especially coal dust and soot, while birth rates remained high especially in cities, largely as a result of an influx of incomers, many of them young adults. Initially at least the fastest-growing towns and cities grew more by inward migration than by natural increase, so that incomers often outnumbered locals. Age and gender balances also changed. Rogers found that the proportion of the population of England and Wales under the age of 15 fell slightly between 1821 and 1851, then rose until 1881, that males accounted for approximately 7.5 million out of a total population of 15.5 million above ten years of age in 1851 and outnumbered females only in the 0-15 year cohort.[2]

Migration figures varied widely. In Preston 52 per cent of the population had been born outside the town in 1851, rising to more than 60 per cent of those aged over 20.[3] Roger Smith found that 58.4 per cent of the adult inhabitants of Nottingham in 1851 had not been born there and the proportions were even higher in larger cities such as Liverpool (77.4 per cent)

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1 R.J. Morris and R. Rodger, *The Victorian City; a reader in British Urban History, 1820-1914,* London, 1993, p. 2

2 A. Rogers, *This was their world: Approaches to Local History,* London, 1972, pp. 32-33.

3 Morris and Rodger, *Victorian city,* p. 4

and Manchester (72.2 per cent).[4] In rural areas however incomers were much less significant, with 60-70 per cent of village communities routinely born within their home parishes and most of the remainder within a radius of about five miles.

Lawton observed that the main source of urban growth may have shifted in favour of natural increase after about 1850.[5] Evidence from Northampton supports this view. But there is no doubt that in practice population movements were even more complex than the raw statistics show; even the fastest-growing settlements experienced outflows of people, including those born locally as well as incomers moving on, while substantial numbers of incomers had been moving from village to village, and from town to town, and in many cases from village to town before moving on or returning to their original homes, and in virtually every case there is evidence of smaller reverse flows between major and minor settlements. It is however clear that there was a net flow from villages to towns and from small towns to large towns, and that many villages and many small towns with less than 5,000 inhabitants lost population through migration for decades at a time.

Urban Northampton

The population of Northampton grew rapidly between 1841 and 1871 drawing in migrants born in the surrounding villages and townships within the catchment area around the town and from further afield to augment growing numbers born in the town itself. But absolute numbers are only the starting point of an understanding of the sheer size and complexity of the forces at work, the links between them and the patterns that emerged on the ground. Males and females, adults and children, workers, including shoe workers and servants, the locally-born and incomers from villages and rural areas, from the surrounding area and from further afield, were distributed in very different ways both in 1851 and in 1871. The censuses provide a wealth of details, which are collected and summarised in Tables. 9, 10 and 11. Table 9 alone shows the numbers of males and females, their occupations and origins in 1851

[4] R. Smith, 'Population movements and the development of working class suburbs in 1801-1851: the case of Nottingham', in *Local communities in the Victorian census enumerators' books,* D R Mills and K Schuerer, (eds.), Oxford 1996. p. 109.

[5] R. Lawton, 'Urbanisation and population change in nineteenth century England', *The expanding city,* J. Patten (ed.), London 1983 and others quoted in C.G. Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and mobility in Britain since the 18th century,* London, 1998, p. 94.

and again in 1871. Birthplaces have been grouped in the accompanying tables and figures into four main categories, individuals born in the town itself (N), born in the rural villages around the town (V), born in townships and villages with some urban and industrial functions, such as a workhouse, a post office or a number of craft workers, including shoe workers (T), and those born beyond the catchment area (E). Table 10 breaks down the figures for settlements within the catchment area, and Table 11 does the same for counties and cities outside the catchment area.

The information provided by the censuses also allows a detailed study across the town of the distribution of males and females, adults and juveniles, the working population and shoe workers in particular, and their original places of birth. The resulting scatter patterns evolved over time and can be expressed in the form of dot maps, or grouped in the form of choropleth maps. Different distribution patterns were also more or less highly skewed between streets with high, medium and low concentrations, and differently distributed between the older and newer, wealthier and poorer parts of town, measured by rateable values per head. Degrees of skewing are best recorded in the form of tables. The next three chapters will review the growth of the resident population of Northampton between 1841 and 1871, and especially between 1851 and 1871 and attempt to trace these patterns, based on data derived from the censuses and from the corresponding rate books, and assess to what extent the patterns can be linked.

Northampton grew faster than the average for England & Wales, but more slowly than some of the largest industrial cities such as Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham. The total population tripled to 21,242 between 1801 and 1841, rising by 41.6 per cent between 1821 and 1831 alone and a further 38.4 per cent between 1831 and 1841 before slowing to around 25 per cent in each of the ensuing three decades. The rate of in-migration slowed slightly and the share of locally-born population rose from 46 per cent to 49 per cent between 1851 and 1871, although almost 90 per cent of the children had been born in the town and around two thirds of the adult population had arrived from outside. The sheer size of the influx raises the question of how much the incomers differed in attitudes and skills from the locally-born inhabitants, but incomers stamped their personalities on every street and community in the town. A handful of incomers were born outside the United Kingdom, in places as far afield as

North America, Australia, South Africa and places where British troops would have been based, including India and Gibraltar. Barely two dozen were born in continental Europe, and they were almost all individuals linked to specific occupations such as pork butchers, jewellers, watch-makers and toy-makers, who were scattered across the commercial centre of the town. The largest single category of those born outside Great Britain came from Ireland, but the total was small relative to places such as Liverpool.

Assimilation would have been relatively rapid, and the evident fact that most incomers were relatively young, married early and had children born in the town would make the process even faster. But these factors alone make the persistence of marked differences in the birthplace patterns meaningful and differences would have been refreshed by the influx of new arrivals. It is also fair to assume that then as well as now, immigrants arriving in a strange town where they had no experience of the availability of basic human needs such as housing and employment, found lodgings wherever possible with family or friends who had previously made the move, or at least with or near individuals from the same backgrounds and birthplaces as themselves, in accommodation that they and people like them could afford, and near to places where they could find employment for the skills they had or were able to learn, leading to local concentrations of extended families, friends and members of their home communities.[6] This is confirmed by a close examination of the distribution and grouping within the town of incomers from individual towns and villages seen in Figs. 55-8, even allowing for the blurring of the evidence by multiple moves between birthplace and eventual destination and by movements of individuals and families from one place to another and back, including moves from Northampton to other locations, especially London, and back to Northampton, and not least by the frequency of moves within the town.

Within the mass of the population substantial differences can also be seen between the age and gender profiles of the population as a whole, and their occupations and origins, and their apparent levels of comfort, measured by rateable value of their homes per head. The population has been divided street by street and between adults and juveniles, males and females, shoe workers and servants, and recorded birthplaces, divided between those born in

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6 R. J. Dennis, *English industrial cities of the nineteenth century: a social geography,* Cambridge, 1984, p. 222, M. J. Anderson, *Family structure in nineteenth-century Lancashire,* Cambridge, 1971, pp. 101-2.

Northampton and incomers from agricultural and shoe-making villages and townships within the catchment area and those born further afield, in contiguous and in more distant counties, in the main cities, in London, Ireland and Scotland. The maps have been constructed from data assembled from the ground up from the decennial censuses and rateable values per head have been constructed from the rate books nearest in date to the censuses themselves. The resulting patterns have been linked and compared to show substantial differences street by street and varying associations between populations according to age, gender, occupations, origins and rateable values per head.

The social mix: Age, gender, birthplace and occupations.

The censuses from 1851 onwards provide a comprehensive survey of the basic characteristics of the population, for the town as a whole and by house and street. The mix by age and gender helps establish the extent to which communities were balanced or unbalanced, the employment structure provides a comprehensive measure of the unity and cohesiveness of the community, the pattern of birthplaces establishes the relative contributions of natural increase and in-migration to the population mix, and the rates of change are an indication of the degrees to which the structure was relatively static or dynamic. The socio-economic features of the population can be defined, quantified, summarised, and tabulated, and also linked to the economic status of the streets and houses in which they lived (defined by rateable values per head) to provide a proxy guide to their economic standards and status, and mapped to show their distribution patterns on the ground.

The 1851 census was the first to give meaningful details of ages and actual birthplaces and provides the starting point for an analysis of trends over time. The incidence of age, gender, occupation and birthplace patterns are closely intertwined, but detailed analysis reveals considerable variations from street to street, and between the richest and poorest parts of the town in 1851 and again in 1871. Data have been calculated for the whole town in 1851 and 1871, and the 1871 data divided between streets in existence 20 years earlier and newly-created streets, built since 1851. The data can also be grouped to indicate the differences between streets with high, medium and low concentrations to show the degree of skewing between them. The proportions of males and females, adult and children and their distributions and their occupational profiles varied considerably in individual streets across

the town both in 1851 and in 1871. A comparison of Tables 10 and 11 shows there were also wide differences between the locally-born population and incomers from the catchment area, including rural villages, townships and places with a shoe-working tradition, and places outside the catchment area, including contiguous counties and nearby towns, more distant counties and further afield, including large cities, London, Ireland and Scotland. But an overall pattern emerges, as the following pages will show.

Adults and children

Recorded ages before 1851 were unsatisfactory, and there are the usual caveats to be made on precise ages in subsequent censuses, but the relative importance of children is unmistakeable. The enumerators' books show that Northampton contained large numbers of juveniles, defined here as those with recorded ages of 17 and under, most of whom would have been born in the town. In 1851 across the town as a whole, even after excluding concentrations of young boarders at schools and institutions, 39.30 per cent of the population were aged 17 and under, and 35.22 per cent were aged 15 and under. By 1871 more than 40 per cent of town's inhabitants were juveniles, the great majority of whom had been born in Northampton itself, but juveniles also made up over 20 per cent of incomers to the town, including 20.88 per cent of incomers from the catchment area, and 23.50 per cent from beyond (Figs. 59, 60).

Within the catchment area juveniles were significantly more numerous, amounting to over 30 per cent of incomers over the very shortest distances, (45 per cent of incomers from Kingsthorpe, the closest village to town), from most towns, big villages and shoe-making villages, and also from places with rail links to Northampton including Wolverton, Blisworth, Roade and Gayton. They were significantly less numerous from rural (i.e. non-industrial) and more distant villages, and absent from 97 of the 260 rural villages for which data are available. Although large numbers of juveniles arrived from villages very close to the town, percentages of long-range arrivals of juveniles slightly exceeded those coming from the catchment area as a whole; juveniles accounted for 23.50 per cent of all longer-range incomers, but percentages again varied from just over 20 per cent from contiguous counties, to just over 22 per cent from more distant counties, 30 per cent from larger cities and 36 per cent from London, but only 12 per cent from Scotland and Ireland. Among longer-range incomers they made up higher proportions of incomers from urban areas, including 24 per

cent from nearby towns such as Market Harborough (against under 19 per cent from elsewhere in contiguous counties), 30 per cent from more distant urban centres and 35 per cent from London, (compared with 26 per cent from Middlesex, 18 per cent from Surrey and 13 per cent from Essex). Juveniles made up 36 per cent of incomers from urbanised northern counties such as Durham, 31 per cent from Yorkshire, 25 per cent from Lancashire and 39 per cent from Staffordshire, against 13 per cent from rural southern counties such as Suffolk, Essex, Dorset and Rutland, 14 per cent from Sussex, 17 per cent from Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, 18 per cent from Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, 19 per cent from Herefordshire, but only 12 per cent of those born in Scotland and Ireland and 17 per cent from Wales.

It seems likely therefore that most short-range juvenile incomers travelled on their own, while the larger numbers of juveniles from more distant origins accompanied their parents, who in turn may have been older and travelled in stages to reach Northampton. Incomers from urban centres may also have been more likely to bring families with them. Distinctly smaller proportions of juveniles among incomers from Ireland and Scotland suggest however that special factors may have been at work in these cases with unaccompanied males travelling in search of work.

The distribution of children aged 15 and under varied considerably across the town, from less than 30 per cent of the total inhabitants in 69 of the 247 streets extant at the time, to more than 40 per cent in 82 streets. Figs. 48a and 48b shows the distribution pattern of juveniles aged under 16 and under 18 respectively across the town, in four bands ranging from under 30 per cent to over 40 per cent of the total population by street. The proportions under 16 have been shown separately in order to exclude most of the younger incomers including domestic servants, who will affect the pattern of under 18s, but the overall patterns are very similar. In the main streets in the commercial and residential core around the Market Square and the main residential streets leading eastwards, children under 16 made up less than 30 per cent and frequently less than 25 per cent of the totals. Relatively low proportions can also be seen in adjacent middle-range streets. At the other extreme juveniles were significantly more numerous in the poorer, working class areas, and the extensive courts in Bridge Street, in all of which around 40 per cent of the population were aged under 16. They were also numerous in newer working-class streets on the eastern side of town, built in the previous 20 years. If

individuals aged 16 and 17 are included, bringing totals into line with the definition of juveniles used in the rest of this study, and including many live-in domestic servants and apprentices, the number of streets and courts where the proportion of juveniles was under 30 per cent falls from 69 to 41. The number of streets with juveniles accounting for 40 per cent or more rises from 82 to 125, of which 64 have 45 per cent and 27 of these have half or more of their inhabitants under 18.

Males and females

Distinct differences can be seen between the balance of male and females born in the town and migrants from the catchment area and from contiguous and more distant counties and from urban centres. Males accounted for 48.95 per cent of the local born population and 49.83 per cent of migrants in 1871, but only 46.41 per cent of incomers from the catchment area around the town, rising to 51.81 per cent of those from beyond the catchment area including 49.29 per cent from the contiguous counties and 52.73 per cent from more distant counties, and 54.19 per cent from the furthest origins. Within the catchment area they accounted for just 44.30 per cent of incomers from rural villages, 49.44 per cent from shoe-making parishes, and 49.55 per cent from local townships.

Beyond the immediately adjacent counties however there was a distinct majority of males among incomers from the more distant places including Ireland (57 per cent), Scotland (64 per cent), Wales, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and especially from larger towns and cities, including London, Leicester, Manchester, and Bristol. Males made up 50.39 per cent of incomers from the ring of small towns just outside the catchment area; further afield the proportion of males from large cities ranged from 52 per cent from metropolitan London, 54 per cent from Leicester, (but only 43 per cent from Birmingham, a place well known for the variety of employment in metal-working trades dominated by male workers), rising to 70 per cent from Bristol and 78 per cent from Manchester.

Females however were more migratory than males over the shortest distances. They outnumbered males among incomers from the catchment area as a whole and from rural villages, and especially from the villages closest to Northampton while males exceeded

females coming from more distant origins and from urban locations. Distinct differences can also be seen between migrants from the contiguous and more distant counties. Females recorded near equality in incomers from contiguous counties and adjacent towns, but made up a minority of incomers from longer distances including the more distant cities, from London, and from Ireland and Scotland. Within the working population males made up more than 60 per cent of the workers from every origin category, but the proportions ranged from 61 per cent among workers born in rural villages and shoe-making villages, rising progressively to 70 per cent and above among workers born in contiguous and 75 per cent from more distant counties, from urban areas, London and especially Ireland and Scotland.

Females slightly outnumbered males (49.60 per cent) in the resident population of the town as a whole in 1851, but the gender balance varied considerably across the town and the incidence of males and females was highly skewed. Table 12 shows that in 1851 females made up just over 50 per cent of the population across the 247 streets existing at that date but less than 45 per cent of the total in 53 streets, between 45 per cent and 55 per cent in 138 streets and over 55 per cent in the remaining 56 streets. In streets with the lowest incidence of females they averaged just under 43 per cent, a fraction over 50 per cent in streets with moderate distributions and almost 60 per cent in streets with the highest incidence of females.

Geographically the distribution of females in 1851 ranged from around 30 per cent female in a handful of streets mainly in the poorest parts of town, especially where male shoe-workers were most highly concentrated, to over 70 per cent female in the most prosperous central commercial streets and in emerging up-market residential areas, where large numbers of widows and (overwhelmingly female) servants were concentrated. In Royal Terrace 67 per cent were female and 72 per cent in Spencer Parade. Males made up 55-60 per cent of the total in many of the older streets where single male shoe makers congregated (Compton Street 60.19 per cent) and in recently developed working-class streets on the “woodyard” (Elm, Deal and Ash streets) and New Town estates.

Twenty years later the gender balance had tilted slightly further in favour of women. The proportion of females in the town as a whole edged up from 50.40 per cent in 1851 to 51.21

per cent in 1871. Females also made up 51.05 per cent of the locally-born population and marginally more (51.37 per cent) of incomers. Males accounted for 48.79 per cent of the total resident population including 48.95 per cent of those born locally, and 48.63 per cent of incomers, but males were more numerous than females among individuals born in distant counties, outside England, in London and in large towns outside the catchment, a clear confirmation that men were more likely than women to migrate over longer distances and from urban areas. Tables 10 and 11 show that they made up only 46.41 per cent of those born in the catchment area and 44.29 per cent of those born in rural villages, rising to 51.81 per cent of those born beyond the catchment area, including 49.29 per cent of those born in contiguous counties, 52.73 per cent of those who came from more distant counties, 52.40 per cent from London and 56.66 per cent from Ireland.

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Out of a total of 334 streets there were 44 streets with low concentrations of females, 199 with moderate and 91 with high incidences of females; the averages in each category were virtually unchanged from 20 years earlier but wide differences persisted from street to street and district to district across the town. More than 60 per cent of the total was female in 41 separate sections of the town, most of them in the wealthier residential districts. The pattern can be seen in Fig. 49, grouping the proportions of males in four bands from under 40 per cent to over 60 per cent. The highest proportion of males was once again in the older poorer mainly shoe-making streets around the western, northern and eastern periphery, and in the central courts, in older, service enclaves, and especially in the older streets close to the commercial core of the town, near the river and canal where heavy labouring jobs were concentrated, and also in a number of new, mainly working-class residential streets on the east side of town. The highest proportion of females was again in the central core and the emerging upmarket residential streets, now including the developments north along the Kingsthorpe Road and east along the Billing Road, which contained significant numbers of female servants as well as relatively wealthy widows and spinsters.

Birthplaces

The population as a whole was drawn almost equally from individuals born in the town itself and incomers from a range of birthplaces including rural and industrial villages, industrial and market towns within the catchment area, roughly 30 miles in diameter around the town, and from the contiguous counties and more distant English counties, from selected cities and from London, and from Ireland, Scotland and Wales and overseas and from unknown origins. In 1851 46.98 per cent of the resident population (excluding institutions) had been born in the town, compared with 20.34 per cent in the surrounding villages, 9.02 per cent in local townships and 23.66 per cent further afield. By 1871, 49.28 per cent of the resident population had been born in the town, 18.60 per cent had been born in villages within the catchment area, 8.46 per cent in around two dozen townships, and 23.66 per cent had been born further afield, outside the catchment area. Separately 9.35 per cent had been born in the towns and villages within the catchment area where shoe-making was a significant occupation. Fig. 50 shows the concentrations of locally born inhabitants born in the town by street, grouped into four bands ranging from under 40 per cent to more than 60 per cent of the total, street by street, and demonstrates the distinctly heavier concentrations of locals in the peripheral streets on the western, northern and north-eastern parts of town, falling below half towards the centre and below 40 per cent in the commercial core and the main streets radiating from it.

But there were distinct differences between birthplaces of males and females. In 1871 slightly more males (49.44 per cent) than females (49.07 per cent had been born locally, but only 17.13 per cent of males and 20.00 per cent of females had been born in the surrounding rural villages, 8.59 per cent of males and 8.39 per cent of females born in local townships, and 24.84 per cent of males and 22.54 per cent of females who had been born outside the catchment area, clear evidence that males were more likely to migrate from towns than villages and over longer distances than females.

Northampton-born population in 1871, new streets and old.

In 1851 the town contained 247 individual streets and courts, which can be grouped into three classes, those with low (less than 40 per cent), medium (40-60 per cent) and high (over 60 per cent) proportions of the inhabitants born locally. Table 13 shows that the incidence of local-born population was also highly skewed. Individuals born in the town made up just over one third (33.88 per cent) of the totals in 64 streets with the lowest concentrations, rising to just under half (48.89 per cent) in the 159 streets with medium concentrations and more than two thirds (68.16 per cent) born locally in the 24 remaining streets with the highest concentrations.

By 1871 the proportion of the population born in the town itself had crept up from 46.98 per cent in 1851 to 49.28 per cent, but they were still significantly concentrated in the older poorer parts of the town. Two streets had been demolished, 89 new streets had been created and the number of streets had increased to 334. Both the age and the value of the properties were significant. Across the town as a whole the proportions born locally edged up from 33 to 35 per cent in the 89 streets with the lowest concentrations and down from 66 per cent to 64 per cent in the 44 streets with the highest concentrations, suggesting a slight reduction in the degree of concentration of the locally-born. Clear differences can be identified between the older and newer parts of town in 1871. The proportion of the population born in the town ranged from 50.41 per cent in the older streets built prior to 1851 to 44.24 per cent in the newer streets. In 52 older streets with under 40 per cent born locally locals made up 36.41 per cent, against 33.67 per cent in the 37 new streets. In the middle range where between 40 per cent and 60 per cent were born locally the scores ranged from 51.17 per cent in 158 older streets to 49.84 per cent in 43 newer streets, and among streets with more than 60 per cent born locally the average ranged from 64.47 per cent in 35 older streets to 63.59 per cent in the nine newer streets. Within the newer streets as a whole the proportion born locally ranged from 40-50 per cent in the better-built streets such as Alexandra, Denmark and Cyril streets, and 50-60 per cent or more in the newer working class streets between the Kettering and Wellingborough roads, where properties were cheaper.

Across the town high concentrations of locals in excess of 50 per cent of the totals were found in a solid swathe of working class streets in the older western part of the town, in part

due to the high number of children, most of whom were born in the town. Similar concentrations occurred in a ring of small streets running along the Mounts and out eastwards to Market Street, and in the newer, western parts of the New Town estate (which perversely had been developed from east to west). In 35 streets in the older working-class area locals made up 64 per cent of the population, against 36 per cent in the 52 streets in the commercial core and residential suburbs. Fig. 51 shows the geographical distribution of locally born inhabitants in 1871, indicating concentrations of 50 per cent and more in a wide circle of properties around the central core, falling to between 30 per cent and 50 per cent in the southern quadrant nearest the river and canal wharves and railway, where transport and service trades competed strongly with the shoe and leather trades, and the proportion fell below 40 per cent in some of the recently completed streets off the north side of the Billing Road aimed at the aspiring middle-class craftsmen and tradesmen. Locals were reduced to between 20 per cent and 40 per cent in much of the commercial core, in part reflecting the smaller number of children. The lowest proportions of locally born, below 30 per cent, were to be found in the newer up-market residential streets, falling as low as 22 per cent in and around Spencer Parade, where servants alone, mostly drawn from rural villages, made up 20 per cent of the resident population. A comparison with Fig. 19 makes clear the strong parallels between streets with low rateable values and high concentrations of individuals born in the town.

Incomers from the catchment area.

The socio-economic make-up of incomers from within the catchment area, the relative incidence of males and females, adults and juveniles, can be seen in Table 10 and in Figs. 52 and 53. Incomers born in villages within a 15 mile radius of the town made up 19.46 per cent of the resident population of the town in 1871, and were the largest or equal largest group in eight streets; the proportions in individual streets and courts ranged from between 10 and 20 per cent of the population in about 100 of the 334 locations, and between 20 per cent and 30 per cent in a further 64, rising to over 30 per cent in around 30 streets, many of them with under 50 inhabitants. Higher than average concentrations of village-born inhabitants can be found in the main commercial and up-market residential streets where many of the young girls from the villages, who made up the majority of the town's domestic servants would have lived. In the stuccoed villas of Spencer Parade and Chain (later Cheyne) Walk 31 of the 109

inhabitants (28.44 per cent) were female domestic servants, cooks or housekeepers, including 22 who were born in surrounding villages. In nearby Derngate and Albion Place 46 out of 197 inhabitants (23.35 per cent) were servants, similarly defined, including 26 from villages (and 8 from local townships, seven from Long Buckby alone). In the nearby and newly-built town houses of Castilian Street, 23 out of 86 inhabitants were classed as female servants (26.74 per cent) including 14 from villages. In Langham Place on the north side of town female servants accounted for 34 out of 151 inhabitants, including 22 who were born in surrounding villages.

Together servants made up 15-20 per cent of the total resident population and well over half the total of incomers from the surrounding villages in the up-market residential streets, lifting the proportion of village-born to more than 30 per cent in these areas; higher concentrations, of between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of village-born inhabitants can be found in the main commercial and up-market residential streets, where many of the young girls from the villages, who made up the vast majority of the town's domestic servants, would have lived; higher concentrations can also be seen in the newer developments on the east side of town, reaching over 30 per cent in a number of streets. At the other end of the scale, former villagers were less important in the population mix of several streets in the north-west part of town where the locally-born population was highest, including Compton Street (8.3 per cent), Todd's Lane (8.0 per cent) and Scarletwell Terrace (where there were none, in a street population of 66).

Incomers from the townships (defined as settlements with more than 1,200 inhabitants in 1851 and/or 1871) within the catchment area accounted for 7.7 per cent of the total population of the town in 1871, but they were nowhere in a majority; Fig. 53 indicates only a few strong concentrations. An additional survey of both towns and villages within the catchment areas with strong shoe-working traditions of their own shows that incomers from these towns and villages made up 9.43 per cent of the Northampton's population in 1871 and were more likely to move into Northampton than from places without significant home-based shoe making activities. As might be expected there were higher concentrations in the poorer peripheral streets where shoe workers as a whole were in a majority.

Longer-range incomers

Comparative features of the socio-economic make-up of incomers from outside the catchment area can be seen in Table 11. Longer-range incomers, men and especially women, were less likely to be working, implying they were under less financial pressure. Geographically, incomers from beyond the catchment area accounted for more than 30 per cent of all inhabitants in 52 of the 336 streets identified and were the largest or equal largest grouping in 26 streets. Fig. 54 shows their distribution across the town. They accounted for over 40 per cent in Broad Street, where several of the town's lodging houses were located, but concentrations were consistently above 30 per cent in upmarket residential streets such as St. George's Terrace, St. George's Place, Primrose Hill and Royal Terrace, rising to 49.4 per cent in Langham Place, a newly-built up-market terrace backing onto the Racecourse. The percentage was also well above average (36 per cent) in Freehold Street, a modest mid-market street that was one of the earliest developments financed by the Freehold Land Society, a forerunner of the Anglia Building Society, and today's Nationwide. It was also a centre of owner-occupation, indicating that many of the poorer long-range incomers were aspirational and upwardly mobile relative to the rest of the population.

The Society's developments were pitched at a level well above the average for working-class accommodation elsewhere in the town and its recruits were likely to have been drawn from the more successful and aspirational artisans, willing and able to make regular payments[7]. The contrast between the Society's developments in Upper and Lower Thrift streets where rateable values per head were £1.6- £1.8 a head and 32 per cent of the inhabitants had been born beyond the catchment area and the older speculative developments on the New Town estate where rateable values per head ranged from £1 to £1.30 and only 12-15 per cent had been born beyond the catchment area makes the point clearly enough. The evident appeal of more highly rated newer properties to longer-range incomers suggests a positive link between initiative and willingness to move long distances and a relatively rapid progress up the socio-economic ladder. Long-range incomers are also likely to have been more mobile than the

[7] See Jane Evans, *A Baker's Tale,* Northampton, 2000, pp. 77, 82-4.

local-born population on average, something which a study of mobility patterns, not here attempted, should confirm.

The link between housing quality and longer-range migrants can also be seen in the better-class residential districts on the south-east side of town including St. Giles Street (32.1 per cent), Castilian Street (30.2), Waterloo Place (38.0), Spencer Parade (37.3), and all the new streets along the Billing Road, from York Street (37.8) to Lower Thrift (32.3) and Upper Thrift Street (31.2), two further developments by the Freehold Land Society. Even higher values were seen in the commercial heart of the town, 48.8 per cent in the Market Square, 47.5 per cent in the Drapery, 63.8 per cent in Mercers Row; these were the sites of the main commercial premises in the town, most of which still had the families of their owners living above them as well as large numbers of single live-in shop workers, many of whom were also drawn from outside the catchment area. High levels also extended into the "top" end of Bridge Street (34.7 per cent), Gold Street (31.9) and Abington Street (31.0). Smaller concentrations of longer-range migrants, in excess of 30 per cent occurred in the commercial-cum-industrial district nearer the river, canal and railway

At the other end of the scale relatively low numbers of longer-range incomers, averaging around 15 per cent were to be found in overwhelmingly working-class areas such as Chapel Place (16.3 per cent), Portland Street (9.9), Raglan Street (17.5) and St. Edmund's Square (13.7); and in the heart of the St. Andrews rookery off Grafton Street, including Todd's Lane (6.3), Grafton Place (10.9), Crispin Street (15.1), and in the nearby developments on the north side of the Mounts. All these developments were slightly off the beaten track as well as having relatively low rateable values, and as such may have been relatively less attractive to longer distance incomers, who may also have had a little more money in their pockets and skills to offer, as well as fewer contacts to rely on and therefore looked for lodgings in the more accessible locations.

In general incomers from outside the immediate catchment area included a higher than average proportion of prosperous traders, and professional men, especially clergymen and doctors, lawyers and clerks. Long-range incomers were however less likely to have moved to

Northampton from large cities than from their surrounding counties as a whole. The 1871 census recorded 725 incomers from Leicestershire including 200 incomers (28 per cent) born in Leicester itself compared with its 35 per cent share of the county; 652 incomers from Warwickshire including 171 (26 per cent) from Birmingham, which contained 54 per cent of the county; 184 incomers from Gloucestershire including 40 (22 per cent) born in Bristol, which held 34 per cent of the county. Only in Manchester were the inhabitants marginally more likely to have moved to Northampton than in the case of Lancashire as a whole, which may be due to the fact that Lancashire as a whole was already highly urbanised and Manchester was on the border closest to Northampton. Incomers from Stafford, a town with an established shoe-making industry were however overwhelmingly shoe workers and more likely to have moved to Northampton than incomers from the rest of Staffordshire.

Incomers born in Ireland were relatively few in number in Northampton compared with Liverpool and Lancashire and parts of Leeds and London. In 1851 almost a quarter of the Irish-born population in the town was living in a small area around Grafton Street at the heart of the shoe-working area in the north-west corner of the town. Some were shoe workers, others were street traders of various kinds. More than 50 were living in Lower Harding Street, Todd's Lane, Grafton Street and Compton Street alone, with a further nine in Bull Lane nearby. This concentration may be linked to William Cannan, a 51 year-old shoe manufacturer born in Ireland, living across the main road in Hope's Place and employing 20 men. Cannan's 13 year-old daughter was also born in Ireland, but his 12 year-old son had been born in London and his 10 year-old son in Northampton, implying that he himself had left Ireland around 1838, well before the potato famine and moved to London before establishing himself in Northampton around 1840.

By 1871 the total number of Irish born in the town was virtually unchanged and had fallen below 1 per cent of the total for the town as a whole, and they had dispersed significantly within the town. Irish-born individuals were most common in Broad Lane (18 out of 634 inhabitants or just under 3 per cent), a street containing some large lodging houses, nine each in Lawrence Street (2.65 per cent) and Nelson Street (2.55 per cent), both opposite the barracks, where many of the troopers were Irish-born, and a few minutes' walk from the

Roman Catholic cathedral. Other small concentrations included 16 Irish-born individuals out of 84 or 18.18 per cent living in the Militia Stores, mostly staffed by military personnel and their families, and 12 (1.62 per cent) in Great Russell Street, the street leading to the stores.

In contrast to the Irish-born, Scots-born incomers were widely scattered across the town but with small clusters of eight in Newland, six in Alexandra Street, five each in St. Giles Street and four in Denmark Street, all significantly more prosperous streets than those settled by the Irish-born. There were no concentrations in shoe-working districts, and a substantial number of the Scots-born were described in the 1871 census as tea dealers, provisions merchants, drapers and tailors.

Changes in birthplaces by street, 1851-71

The pattern was not entirely constant over time, as might be expected where the total population of some streets was quite small, sometimes 30 or less, and the turnover of tenancies in general was notoriously high. The share of the locally born increased by at least ten per cent (e.g. from 45 per cent to at least 49.5 per cent), in 66 streets, and declined by a similar amount in a further 37 streets, implying a significantly increased polarisation of the population between locals and incomers, although the pattern of changes is not geographically particularly marked and the contributory effects of an ageing population and changes in the proportion of (mostly locally born) children in individual streets cannot easily be quantified.

Population change by street, 1851-71

The physical expansion of the town between 1851 and 1871 relieved the pressure on the population of the older parts of town. A reference back to Table 4 shows that the number of people living in the 12 main streets of the commercial core fell by about 5 per cent, with virtually no change in the number of inhabited houses. Secondary streets such as College Street and the Horsemarket also lost some population. But numbers also fell in some of the largest and most densely settled streets in the poorer part of town, down by 4 per cent to 662 in the Bath Street complex and 16 per cent to 348 in Compton Street, 6 per cent to 323 in the

St. Mary's Street and St. Mary's Place complexes, all on virtually unchanged housing numbers, and down 11 per cent to 580 on 4 per cent fewer houses in the Bridge Street courts. The appearance of a number of unoccupied properties suggests the reductions may have been at least in part due to an overall easing of pressure on the housing stock. The displaced population may not however have moved far. Population numbers rose in Scarletwell Street and its courts (up 9 per cent to 730 although the number of houses had risen by 18 per cent to 158 units). Population and property numbers also increased in the Castle Street and Harding Street complexes, and in Great Russell Street, still incomplete in 1851, as well as spilling over into the newer developments in emerging suburbs.

The drop in numbers in the central core was accompanied by the conversion of a small number of residential and mixed use premises to wholly commercial uses by 1871, recorded in the rate books, and the first small sign of the emergence of an incipient central business district, but there was no sign of a wholesale flight by the wealthy merchant and professional classes, or of the influx of poorer families and transients into properties formerly occupied by prosperous families that observers recorded in Leeds and elsewhere in the period.[8] On the contrary if rateable values per head are an acceptable proxy for the prosperity of the properties and their occupants, values over the 20-year period increased by an average of 50 per cent in the 12 streets of the central core. This does not imply a similar rise in overall living standards however, at a time when rateable values per house and street must have risen more rapidly than any likely measure of inflation, but it makes any actual decline in the prosperity and sustainability of the central core implausible.

Rateable values per head of the population also rose significantly in some of the most extensive and poorest parts of the old town, by 14 per cent in Bath Street and its courts, 21 per cent in Scarletwell Street and its courts, and 50 per cent in the Bridge Street courts, although in all three cases this is indicative more of an easing in congestion rather than a rise in living standards; indeed if rents followed rateable values, there may have been a squeeze on living standards. Elsewhere rateable values per head increased by 9 per cent in Upper and Lower Harding Streets, where numbers also rose. In some streets, such as Great Russell

8 See H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880,* London, 1874, p. 174.

Street and the Castle Street complex, rateable values per head actually declined slightly over the period but such cases can usually be explained by the building of additional cheaper properties that diluted the average values of the streets.

Some socio-economic variations by selected streets

Table 14 identifies a dozen representative areas providing a cross-section of the town, chosen to provide examples of the wealthier, the medium-ranked and the poorer streets in both older and newer districts of the town: the Bridge Street courts were built in the river flood-plain before 1840 and constituted the poorest and most unhealthy part of town; the Scarletwell Street complex was a large and relatively poor and isolated street containing multiple courts, at the time leading down to the river bank and built mainly between 1820 and 1840; Upper and Lower Harding Street and Harding Terrace were the first new streets of low-value housing built on extra-parochial land from 1835 onwards and quickly occupied largely by shoe workers; Great Russell Street made up a long finger of slightly better housing built out towards the Racecourse in stages between 1835 and 1870 and occupied by a more varied work-force; Cow Lane and its adjoining courts and terraces running down to the river on the south side contained a number of foundry workers and paper makers, mostly born outside the county; Gold Street was one of the four main axes of the central commercial core and an active prosperous commercial street; Alexandra and Denmark streets were the first of the streets designed for artisans and craftsmen in the 1860s, and Upper and Lower Thrift Streets were two slightly later but a little less prosperous streets financed by the Freehold Land Society rather further out along the Billing Road; two more new streets, Cyril Street and Victoria Road were built in the late 1860s. Four streets (Ecton, Thenford, Pytchley and Harold) were part of a brand-new mid-market development in 1871, and the fringe of up-market residential streets running from Spencer Parade south along Cheyne Walk to Waterloo Place and Albion Place and Terrace complete the picture.

Age and birthplace profiles varied significantly from street to street, influenced by the age and rateable values of the property, the employment pattern, and the degree of isolation from the main commercial core. Scarletwell Street and its courts showed the least amount of in-migration: more than 57 per cent of both the male and female population had been born in the town, well above the town average, including nearly 39 per cent of the adult males and 41 per

cent of adult females and rising to 80 per cent of juvenile males and just over 81 per cent of juvenile females. Just over 9 per cent of the population were aged 55 or more, and 17.47 per cent aged five and under. The shoe-making streets of Upper and Lower Harding Street and Harding Terrace showed a substantial influx of adult males, mainly shoe workers, so that only 23.70 per cent of the 173 adult males and 44.06 per cent of the 143 adult females had been born in Northampton; but 78.83 per cent of the 137 younger males and 79.17 per cent of the 120 younger females were locally born. Those aged 55 and upwards accounted for 9.41 per cent of the population and children five and under a further 17.41 per cent.

In Great Russell Street 31.67 per cent of 221 adult males and 39.61 per cent of 207 adult females, 74.19 per cent of 155 younger males and 83.57 per cent of 140 younger females had been born in the town, indicative of an older development attracting relatively few families of incomers. For Alexandra and Denmark streets locals accounted for only 26.43 per cent of 140 adult males and 25.00 per cent of 164 adult females, but a relatively low 61.40 per cent of 57 younger males and only 54.08 per cent of 98 younger females, indicative of a significant component of families with children among the incomers. In the still newer developments of Upper and Lower Thrift streets, the proportions were 22.95 per cent of 122 adult males, 25.78 per cent of 128 adult females, 57.00 per cent of 100 younger males and 73.15 per cent of 108 younger females. In the down-market Bridge Street courts, 37.34 per cent of 158 adult males and 30.61 per cent of 147 adult females, 74.40 per cent of 125 younger males and 74.02 per cent of 127 younger females were born in the town.

In upmarket Gold Street 37.50 per cent of the 80 adult males, and 22.00 per cent of 100 adult females, 79.55 per cent of the younger males but only 54.84 per cent of 62 younger females had been born in the town, with incomers outnumbering locals among females in every age bracket from 12 upwards. In the four brand new mid-market streets containing significant numbers of craftsmen, including clerks and police officers (who were born almost exclusively in surrounding villages), printers and carpenters as well as a sprinkling of shoe workers, incomers accounted for well over half the population, while 43 per cent had been born in Northampton. In these new developments the elderly made up barely 5 per cent of the total but more than 22 per cent were infants aged five and under. In the fringe of upmarket residential streets running south from St. Giles' church, just one third of the inhabitants had

been born in the town and incomers from outside the catchment area itself out-numbered those born in the town, but almost one fifth of the totals were aged 55 or more and just over 5 per cent were aged five and under. In upmarket residential Langham Place only 12.50 per cent of the 24 adult males and 15.50 of the 66 adult females, 68.18 per cent of the 22 juvenile males and 54.55 per cent of the 33 juvenile females had been born in the town.

Distribution patterns: Area maps and dot-maps.

Mapping the main features of the socio-economic mix is an essential preliminary to understanding the links between ages, gender, occupations and origins of the population and changes over time. Area maps show the intensity of concentrations, street by street, as a percentage of the total population, while dot maps can show the distribution of individuals with similar characteristics with reasonable accuracy, although precise fixes would involve detailed investigations to identify specific houses for very little additional accuracy. Figs. 55-58 show the distribution by street of all individuals born in a selection of different places including the two largest local towns of Wellingborough and Kettering, a selection of villages at varying distances from Northampton, including rural villages such as Brixworth, and some shoe-making parishes such as Wollaston, as well as the shoe-making towns of Olney and Stafford, and for Ireland and Scotland. The shape of the distribution patterns, represented by the mean and median points, surrounded by ellipses enclosing half the totals within the smallest areas have also been mapped. The patterns show a distinct directional relationship between origins and residence for incomers from villages in the immediate vicinity of Northampton; thus incomers from Kingsthorpe, the adjacent parish on the north side of town were heavily concentrated on the northern edge of Northampton. Incomers from Hardingstone, just across the bridge on the south side of town, were concentrated in the southern part of the town, but the bias is less striking and the concentrations less marked. Incomers from Duston were slightly concentrated in the western part of town and less numerous on the more distant eastern half of the town, while incomers from Weston Favell show an easterly bias, all suggesting that significant numbers from adjoining parishes may originally have simply walked into town and found accommodation, and many of them remained in the same localities.

The evidence for more distant parishes and towns in the catchment area is less conclusive, perhaps because the majority of incomers from more distant localities arrived in town in some form of transport to central points, rather than on foot. Incomers from shoe-working parishes such as Dallington, Harpole, Long Buckby, Hackleton, Hanslope, Ecton and Wollaston, and from agricultural villages such as Litchborough or Brixworth were widely spread, although there were individual pockets, perhaps associated with groups of families and friends from the same location: a distinct concentration of incomers born in Hackleton lived on the New Town estate. Incomers from Wellingborough and Kettering were distributed across the town but there was a noticeable bias towards shoe-making areas and to the eastern half of town. Outside the catchment area, directional biases and strong concentrations were still less marked, although incomers from the shoe-making centres of Olney and Stafford showed a bias towards shoe-making districts, while those born in Market Harborough and Oundle, where shoe working was insignificant, did not. However the scatterings of Scots incomers in the wealthier central core and Irish incomers in the poorest districts, and the numbers of shoe-makers gravitating towards the shoe-making streets were unmistakeable.

The population pyramid, 1871.

The structure of the population by age, gender and birthplaces can be seen in greater detail in a population pyramid. Lampard noted the characteristic bulges in population pyramids for expanding urban areas, caused by net in-migration in the age bands between 20 and 40, and assessed the significance of imbalances of males and females, adults and children, and the impact of variations over time.[9] The structure of the population of Northampton by age, gender and birthplaces can be seen in the population pyramid for 1871 (Fig. 59), based on a (different) sample of 20 large and representative streets, spanning a cross-section of the town containing just over 10 per cent of the town's population. The streets selected for this sample have been chosen to represent core districts with marked socio-economic characteristics; they include a core commercial street (Gold Street), an older street where service trades predominated (The Riding), three secondary streets in the older part of town (Woolmonger, Castle and St Mary's Streets), the complex of courts at the lower end of Bridge Street, three

[9] E.E. Lampard, 'The urbanising world', in H J. Dyos and M. Wolff, (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities* vol. 1, London, 1973, pp.16-17.

streets built in the 1830s in the shoemakers' rookery, (Upper and Lower Harding Streets and Harding Terrace), four newer streets occupied mainly by shoemakers on the west side of town, (Fitzroy, Bristol, Fort and Moat Streets), four newer and improved streets off the Billing Road targeted at clerks and artisans as well as shoe-workers (Alexandra, Denmark, Upper and Lower Thrift Streets), and Langham Place a newly-built up-market residential terrace along Kingsthorpe Road. Table 15 shows that a second sample, not included in the pyramid, but covering a further 20 streets and another 10 per cent of the population confirms the findings of the first.

Pyramids based on samples run the inevitable risk of random variations in the constituent data. In this sample there is an apparent shortfall of young males born in the surrounding villages and small towns relative to those arriving from more distant places, which may be consistent with more young males moving independently over shorter distances at slightly later ages than young girls, while the more equal numbers of male and female juveniles arriving from more distant birthplaces may have travelled with their parents. Their male children may therefore have been younger on average than those who arrived independently from shorter distances. A similar effect in young females could have been obscured by the larger numbers of young girls coming in from shorter distances to become live-in servants.

Subject to these reservations however a number of conclusions can be read from the pyramid. It shows, first, a rapid fall-off in numbers of males and females from the first year of life upwards. At a time when the population, including incomers and those born locally, was rising by about 2 per cent a year, approximately half by natural increase and half by in-migration, the totals in each age cohort in the sample fell by approximately 5 per cent a year, from 161 in the first year of life to 104 in the fifth year and 88 in the tenth year, consistent with either a rising birth rate or more plausibly a very high death rate in the first decade of life. Nevertheless children aged five and under accounted for 16.89 per cent of this sample. At the other end of the scale individuals aged 55 and upwards made up 8.40 per cent of the sample.

The proportion of the population in each age band diminished up to the age of 10-12 for both males and females but then widened steadily up to the age of around 30 for both men and women as an increasing volume of in-migration more than compensated losses due to death and departures and for the diminishing numbers born in the town. It then declined again with age. In absolute numbers women outnumbered men in the bracket aged 50 and upwards, and in the 10-19 and 20-29 cohorts, but men slightly outnumbered women in the 30-39 cohort, implying a net influx of males in that age bracket. Incomers made up the majority of males in all age groups from 19 upwards rising to a peak of 78 per cent of males aged between 40 and 49. Among females incomers exceeded the locally born in all age groups from 19 upwards, but the predominance of incomers was less marked, especially in the 20-29 age group, where incomers made up 63 per cent of males and 56 per cent of females.

Above 40 years survival rates tailed off steadily with age, but the proportions of older survivors, defined as those aged 55 or more ranged between 5 and 10 per cent in the older poorer streets and in the commercial core up to almost 20 per cent in the wealthiest and exclusively residential streets. The proportion of elderly people was slightly higher in courts, composed of the very smallest dwellings, than in adjacent streets with slightly larger houses, indicating a possible tendency for older people to move into smaller accommodation after their children had left home. The proportion of the elderly was also lower in the commercial core where retired workers may have given way to the active workforce. The proportion of infants aged five and under was highest, at just under 20 per cent, in the older poorer streets, falling to around 15 per cent in the newer streets designed for workmen and artisans, and as low as 5 per cent in the commercial streets and in the most prosperous residential streets.

Age profiles of the local-born population

Separate age pyramids for the locally-born population and for incomers from villages, local towns and from outside the catchment area (Figs. 60 a-d) reveal structural differences in the composition of the population according to birthplaces, including the importance of females from villages in the 13-30 age group and the relatively high incidence of juveniles, male and female, born outside the catchment area. Although almost half the population had been born in Northampton, the great majority of these were children, including the children of parents who were themselves born outside the town. Almost 90 per cent of all children aged ten and

under had been born in the town, but the proportion born in the town then declined steadily until, by the age of 19 for men and 20 for women, the majority of the population had been born outside the town.

Individuals born in Northampton made up only 37.73 per cent of the adult population in the 10 per cent sample, including 35.75 per cent of the adult males and 39.56 per cent of the adult females, inferring a higher male mortality or, more probably, a greater propensity of males to leave the town than females. In this sample 55 out of 91 (60.44 per cent) of 20 year olds, 61 out of 85 (71.76 per cent) of 30 year olds, 49 out of 59 (83.05 per cent) of 40 year olds, 22 out of 32 (68.75 per cent) of 50 year olds, and 21 out of 33 (63.63 per cent) of 60 year olds had been born elsewhere. In the larger sample about a quarter of the population aged 55 and over both male and female, had been born in Northampton.

Age profiles of incomers

The 10 per cent sample shows that around 20 per cent of all juveniles aged 17 and under had been born outside the town, including 20.22 per cent of males and 21.04 per cent of females. The proportion of incomers in the age cohorts increased from the age of around 15 for young males and 13 for young females, as the proportion of young children, especially young girls, going to work in the town increased. Incomers outnumbered those born locally from the age of about 20 and upwards for males, and 13 upwards for females, but there were distinct differences between incomers from local villages, townships and from further afield. Among incomers from villages only 47 out of 309 males (15.21 per cent) were aged under 18, and 28 out of 187 from local towns (14.97 per cent) but 146 out of 597 (24.46 per cent) of male arrivals from greater distances were under 18. The comparable figures for females under 18 from different birthplaces were more uniform; 88 out of 382 from local villages (23.04 per cent), 46 out of 189 from local towns (24.34 per cent) and 141 out of 546 (25.82 per cent) for longer distance migrants. These figures are consistent with numerous young females arriving from short distances at an early age, while young males arriving independently over longer distances out-numbered females.

Individuals born at greater distances from the town made up 27.86 per cent of the total male population and 24.25 per cent of all females. If juveniles are excluded, individuals born at greater distances made up 36.14 per cent of adult males against 31.37 per cent of adult females a figure consistent with the conclusion that males of all ages tended to travel greater distances than females. Individuals born in local towns made up 12.74 per cent of the adult male population against 11.08 per cent of the adult females, but 21.07 per cent of adult males were born in surrounding villages against 22.77 per cent of adult females, figures which indicate a marginally greater propensity of males to migrate from the local towns and of females from the villages.

Median ages of migrants

Although distance and urban/rural status were clearly important, the age profiles for incomers from various distances showed relatively little difference. The median age of males was slightly greater than for females, suggesting that females did migrate rather earlier and therefore a little more readily than males but the age pyramid suggests that median ages for both males and females born further away were not significantly greater than for males or females who had moved shorter distances, either for the groups as a whole or for adults only. Based on the 20 per cent sample the median age for males from villages was 30, for local towns 32 and for longer-distance arrivals 30. For females the median ages were 29 from villages, 30 from local towns and 30 from longer distances. If incomers aged 17 and under, most of whom were more likely to have been brought by their parents, are excluded, the median age of adult males born in villages was 36, for local towns 34, and for those who had travelled the greatest distances 36. For adult females the median ages were 35 from villages, 36 from local towns and 36 from greater distances. The evidence therefore suggests that the rate of longer-range migration changed little over time, but the relatively large number of juveniles, both male and female, suggests long-range incomers often brought young families with them.

Conclusion

Although the total population of Northampton continued to accelerate in absolute numbers, the overall pace of growth in the town population measured in percentage terms fell slightly

between the early and middle years of the century, and the proportion of the total born in the town itself edged perceptibly higher, consistent with a slight slackening of the rate of inward migration and a high birth rate among the first-generation incomers. The median age of the population was around 21 years.

A pattern can be seen of substantial differences in the distribution of the population of the town according to age, gender and origins. Juveniles, males and females, and inhabitants born in the town and those who arrived from different locations from villages and townships, with or without a shoe-making tradition, from towns and cities and counties further afield, were unequally distributed between older and newer, prosperous and poorer parts of the town. Females slightly outnumbered males among both incomers and the locally-born, while the higher numbers born locally in the poorest and oldest streets and the distinctly higher numbers born outside the town living in the newer and the more prosperous streets point strongly to the conclusion that incomers were on balance either more talented or more prosperous than the locally-born.

The influx was entirely unplanned but differences between the population born in the town and incomers were clear, and significant levels of sorting can also be seen between incomers from the surrounding catchment area and from further afield and between incomers from villages and from urban areas. About 40 per cent of the population was aged 17 or under, the great majority of whom had been born in the town, but half the total population and perhaps two thirds of the adult population had been born elsewhere. The trends were established before the starting date of this study but the patterns changed significantly over time.

Chapter 9

Workers and shoe-workers: women and work.

This chapter will examine the working population and in particular the two main sources of employment, shoe-workers and servants, the differences between the work-force born locally and incomers from various origins and the extent to which they were differently distributed across the town. Shared employment was not the only indicator of the existence of a community, but the consistency of the census data ensures that it is usually the most comprehensive and easily measurable indicator. While birthplaces ceased to be significant within two generations as the families of incoming parents integrated with the local-born population, the share of the incoming workforce employed in the principal occupations can tell us much about the reasons why incomers came to Northampton, and the extent to which they retained their original skills or adopted the principal trade of the town. It also sheds light on the drawing power of the shoe trades and their ability to attract workers, males and females, adults and juveniles, from rural and urban areas, and from nearby villages to the most distant cities and counties.

Work as a social indicator.

The extent to which women, and children, were gainfully employed in the workforce has been the subject of ongoing debate over the years. Higgs concluded that the work done by women, especially on a casual or part-time basis, was often not recorded, while children, especially boys, could be routinely given the occupation of their fathers.[1] The topic is especially relevant in the case of shoe-makers' wives and children; most of whom would have made and have needed to make a contribution to the family income, usually by preparing materials and carrying out some of the preliminary stages in making finished footwear, but especially in the earlier censuses they could well not have been specifically recorded. In later years when work began to transfer from the home to workshops and factories and the shoemaking process became more specialised the same women and children going out to work would have been recorded as specialist closers or binders.

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1 E. Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census Revisited,* London, 2005. pp.101, 103.

Males made up over two thirds of the labour force in Northampton and two thirds of the shoe workers, but by 1871 women were increasingly drawn into the labour force, more than one third of all working women were employed in the shoe trades and more than 60 per cent of working women born in Northampton were shoe workers (Table 9). Child workers were especially commonplace in the shoe trades, indicating the ease with which they could be found work in stitching and stabbing, as well as the poverty of their parents and the absolute need to contribute to the family incomes. Children as young as seven or eight were at work, especially in the shoe trades, and many more may have been employed part-time but were not recorded.[2] In 1851 26.72 per cent of all shoe workers were aged under 18, and 9.04 per cent were under 13. Errand boys and sometimes girls made up the only other significant category of child workers and may well in practice have been mainly employed in fetching and carrying materials and finished work between homes and the "shops" where the shoe trade was organised.

The make-up of the workforce varied considerably not only between those born in the town and incomers from villages, townships and further afield and between males and females, and between workers, non-workers and workers in the shoe trades. Differences between the occupations of workers born in the town and from various other origins can be assessed in two ways, as percentages of the town total from each source and as percentages from each origin working, and working in the shoe trades. Within each group males, females and juveniles can be reviewed separately and the results shown precisely in tables (Table 9) and visually by graphics. Fig. 61 shows diagrammatically the differences between the birthplaces of the population, the birthplaces of the working population, the share of shoe workers, male and female and by birthplace in the working population in 1851 and again in 1871.

The working population.

In 1851 just over half the population, 54.21 per cent, was classed as employed, two thirds of them (65.37 per cent) male, and juveniles and children under 13 together made up a fifth (19.92 per cent) of the total workforce. Just over a third of the working population had been

[2] Higgs, *Census revisited,* p. 103

born in Northampton, a quarter in the surrounding villages, one in eight in the townships and 27 per cent further afield. By 1871, in spite of the exclusion from the work-force of very young children, most of whom were born in the town, the working population had risen by 40.94 per cent, the percentage of the population employed had slipped to just under half (49.47 per cent) and the percentage of males had edged up to 66.27 per cent of the workforce. Over the period the share of workers born in the town increased perceptibly, from 34.64 per cent in 1851 to 36.89 per cent in 1871 while the proportions born in the catchment area fell slightly to 35.29 per cent, and the percentage born beyond the catchment area edged up from 27.80 per cent to 28.86 per cent. These figures are compatible with a slight deceleration in the rate of inward migration but an increase in its range, as a result of improved communications.

Males continued to outnumber females by two to one in the work-force but females born in the town and in the neighbouring villages made up slightly higher and women born further afield slightly lower shares of the workforce. Juveniles accounted for 15 per cent of the working population born in the catchment area in 1871, 16 per cent of those from rural villages, 14 per cent of workers born in shoe-making parishes, 12 per cent from contiguous counties, just over 10 per cent from adjacent towns and just under 10 per cent from the more distant counties and distant cities, but 14 per cent from London.

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Just over half the population was not classed as employed in 1871, but this included 62.97 per cent of the locally-born population, 36.14 per cent of those born in rural villages, 34.12 per cent of those born in the townships and 41.80 per cent of those born further afield. Just over 58 per cent of long-range incomers were employed, but proportions varied from 59 per cent of incomers from contiguous and distant counties, just over 50 per cent from distant cities and 52 per cent from London, rising to around 70 per cent from Scotland and Ireland. Just over a quarter (26.10 per cent) of all males born in the town, but only 5.28 per cent of males from the villages, 6.44 per cent of males from the townships, rising to 8.73 per cent of males born beyond the catchment were not working. Of the female population, 72.28 per cent of those born in the town were not working; among incomers 56.05 per cent of females from the rural villages, 54.49 per cent from the townships, rising to 67.79 per cent from further afield were not employed.

The numbers can be broken down further to show differences between incomers from rural villages and from shoe-making villages, townships and market towns without an industrial base, and between those born in contiguous counties and the adjacent towns they contain, more distant counties and the main cities, London, Ireland and Scotland. Drawing on the figures prepared in Table 10 we can calculate that 64.32 per cent of all incomers from the catchment area were working in 1871, but percentages were lowest among incomers born in the rural villages. From Table 11 we can derive the fact that fewer incomers from beyond the catchment area were working in 1871, (58.16 per cent against 64.32 per cent from within the catchment), and percentages ranged from 59.25 per cent from contiguous counties and 52.39 per cent from the more distant counties rising to 55.92 per cent from the ring of nearby towns but only 51.98 per cent of Londoners, and 52.50 per cent of arrivals born in Wales, rising to 65.34 per cent of the Irish and 71.36 per cent of the Scots-born. In 1871 males made up 69.56 per cent of workers born in the contiguous counties and 74.75 per cent from distant counties, 83.61 percent of the Scots and 77.46 per cent from Ireland, 71.37 per cent from nearby towns, and 74.41 per cent of Londoners.

Workers and shoe-workers by gender and birthplace, 1851 and 1871

It is clear that gender and birthplace differences were significant throughout the period. Only 33.30 per cent of the male workforce against 37.14 per cent of female workers had been born in the town in 1851 compared with 23.89 per cent of male workers and 28.98 per cent of female workers born in rural villages. A further 12.10 per cent of working males and 11.63 per cent of working females had come from local townships and 30.71 per cent of males and only 22.25 per cent of female workers had been born outside the catchment area. Among shoe workers 43.53 per cent had been born in Northampton, including 37.71 per cent of males and 56.13 per cent of females; against 18.20 per cent (19.38 per cent of males and 15.65 per cent of females) born in the villages, 16.63 per cent (17.83 per cent of males and 14.03 per cent of females) had been born in the townships and 21.64 per cent (25.09 per cent of males and just 14.19 per cent of female) of shoe workers had been born beyond the catchment area. The relative importance of males among incomers and females among the locally born in unmistakeable.

Twenty years later males continued to outnumber females in the working population and in the shoe trades but the balance had shifted slightly in favour of females. Males made up 48.79 per cent of the population in 1871 but they accounted for 65.35 per cent of the working population and 66.53 per cent of those employed in the dominant shoe trades. Females accounted for only 35 per cent of the working population and 33 per cent of the shoe workers. But they accounted for 38.31 per cent of the workforce and 41.04 per cent of the shoe-workers born in the town, 37.90 per cent of the workforce and only 25.41 per cent of the shoe workers born in rural villages, 34.63 per cent of the workforce and 30.58 per cent of the shoe workers born in the townships and 26.80 per cent of the workforce and 24.11 per cent of the shoe-workers born beyond the catchment area.

Almost all adult males of all origins were employed, but just over 60 per cent of the adult females from outside the catchment area had no recorded employment, compared to 57 per cent of adult females born within the catchment area. This difference may well reflect the fact that incomers from greater distances were distinctly better off and more women would not have needed to work. The proportions of adult women working also varied from around 63 per cent from Scotland, 64 per cent from London and Ireland to more than 65 per cent and upwards from highly rural counties of Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, Rutland, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk.

Spatial distribution of workers by place of birth 1871

In 1871 in 77 streets across the town more than 45 per cent of the actual working population was born in the town, including most of the streets in the north-west quarter such as Scarletwell Street, rising to more than half the total in Cromwell Street and Crispin Street and in Todd’s Lane and Kinburn Place, two adjacent courts off Grafton Street. Fig. 62 shows the pattern across the town. Locals also made up more than 40 per cent in many of the newer streets on the east side of town and in the courts at the lower end of Bridge Street. At the other extreme, 25 per cent or less of the working population was locally born (and therefore up to 75 per cent had been born elsewhere) in the main commercial streets. In the Market Square only 15.3 per cent of the employed population were born locally, in the Drapery only 10.0 per cent, and in upper Bridge Street 19.7 per cent, rising to 25 per cent in Sheep Street.

Incomers were again in a substantial majority in upmarket residential streets such as Spencer Parade (where only 23.5 per cent were born locally), Albion Terrace (22.2 per cent) and Albion Place (13.1 per cent). Locally-born workers were also heavily outnumbered by incomers in the working population in many of the newer streets on the north side of the Billing Road where locally-born workers made up under 30 per cent. A similar pattern occurred in streets next to the canal including Weston Street (13.3 per cent local), Weston Place (17.6 per cent), York Place (15.9 per cent) and Adnitt Place (21.9 per cent). Even in the Bridge Street courts the proportion of the workforce born in the town was below the town average at only 42.3 per cent of the working population.

Boot and shoe-workers, 1851 and 1871.

The boot and shoe trades dominated employment in Northampton throughout the period. Men were in the majority but many females were also shoe workers and the shoe trades were the largest employers of both men and women, adults and juveniles. But distinct changes can be seen over the two decades to 1871, spanning the first introduction of factory working. Initially the industry was overwhelmingly a home-based handicraft industry providing work for a small number of skilled craftsmen, including clickers whose job was to cut the uppers from selected hides, and large numbers of journeyman shoe-makers employing their wives and children and sometimes relatives and lodgers to share the work and contribute to household earnings. The shift from a home-based craft industry employing women and children to supplement family earnings towards factory working led to increasing specialisation in the labour force and a marked increase in the numbers women and children classed as closers, binders and finishers, probably working as factory hands.

The opportunities for employment and the demand for cheap labour attracted many incomers to the town, especially from parishes with established shoe trades of their own, including Wellingborough and Kettering, Long Buckby, Earls Barton, Rushden, Raunds and Wollaston. There is however clear evidence that being born in Northampton itself provided easier access to employment in the shoe trades and especially for the youngest members of families, for whom the shoe trades provided an opportunity to make a very early contribution to family incomes. The high proportion of female workers born in the town who were employed in the

shoe trades despite the low earnings also implies that familiarity with and the availability of work opportunities in the shoe trades exceeded those in other occupations.

Table 16 shows that in 1851 68.39 per cent of the 6,027 workers in the shoe trades were male and shoe workers made up 43.98 per cent of the workforce, including 45.68 per cent of the males and 40.71 per cent of the females, 42.97 per cent of adult working males and 34.20 per cent of adult working females. At the same time 26.72 per cent of all shoe workers were aged under 18, and 9.04 per cent were under 13, and the shoe trades employed 59.12 per cent of working males and 59.55 per cent of working females aged under 18. Very young children were even more likely to be set to work in the shoe trades which employed 76.94 per cent of young boys and 82.55 per cent of young girls at work aged under 13.

The fact that juveniles made up significantly higher proportions working in the shoe trades is a measure of the ease with which juveniles found work in the shoe trades, initially within the family and subsequently in workshops and factories, where they were employed as cheap labour in specialist activities such as stabbers and knot-tiers as well as closers and binders. It also reflects the low level of the incomes earned by shoe workers and the need for children to augment the earnings of adult family members

By 1871 the work-force in the shoe trades had increased by 51.38 per cent to over 9,000 and its share of the workforce had risen to 46.91 per cent, Males outnumbered females among shoe-workers throughout the period but the percentage of females increased from 31.63 per cent in 1851 to 33.50 per cent in 1871, and juveniles under 18 still accounted for 21.17 per cent of all shoe workers. Even after the education act of 1870 some 12-year olds were still classed as workers in the 1871 census and many younger children may still have been working at least part-time.

Birthplaces of shoe workers, 1851-71.

While the shoe trades increased their dominance of the total work-force from 43.42 per cent in 1851 to 46.64 per cent in 1871, (and from 45.31 per cent to 47.48 per cent of the male work force and from 39.82 per cent to 45.05 per cent of the female, the shoe trades became increasingly entrenched in the local-born population, male and especially female. In 1851 44.53 per cent of all shoe workers had been born in Northampton, 18.20 per cent in rural villages, 16.63 per cent in the townships and 21.64 per cent further afield. By 1871 the proportions shoe workers born locally had risen to 48.46 per cent (42.95 per cent of males and 59.41 per cent of females); by comparison the percentage of shoe-workers born in rural villages fell slightly to 16.75 per cent in 1871, including 18.78 per cent of males and 12.71 per cent of females, the share of shoe workers born in local townships had slipped to 14.56 per cent (15.19 per cent of males and 13.30 per cent of females) in 1871, while the percentage born beyond the catchment area was also down slightly to 20.24 per cent, including 23.08 per cent of males and 14.58 percent of females).

The prevalence of shoe working in the local-born population is confirmed by the fact that in 1851 54.60 per cent of all Northampton-born workers were employed in the shoe trades including 51.32 per cent of working males and 60.19 per cent of working females. By 1871 local-born workers were even more heavily entrenched in the shoe trades, which employed 61.27 per cent of all local-born workers including 58.57 per cent of the males and 65.63 per cent of the working females in 1871.

Incomers from the surrounding villages were much less likely to work in the shoe trades. In 1851 only 30.81 per cent of village-born workers were in the shoe trades, although this included 36.75 per cent of working males and 21.57 per cent of working females. By 1871 the percentage of village-born born workers in the shoe trades had edged higher to 32.53 per cent but this included 39.07 per cent of males and only 21.80 per cent of working females.

Workers born in the local townships, most of whom would already have lost their link with the land, were twice as likely to be shoe workers as those born in the villages. In 1851 60.45

per cent of township-born workers were in the shoe trades including 66.73 per cent of the males and 48.03 per cent of the females, and twenty years later 60.25 per cent were shoe workers including 63.99 per cent of working males and 53.20 per cent of working females.In 1851 33.82 per cent of the working population from beyond the catchment area including 37.03 per cent of working males and 25.40 per cent of working females were employed in the shoe trades, and by 1871 shoe makers made up an almost unchanged 33.91 per cent of all workers from outside the catchment area, but the proportion of working males had slipped to 35.25 per cent and risen perceptibly to 30.28 per cent of incoming employed females.

But a closer look reveals significant differences in the proportions of shoe workers from beyond the catchment area and from contiguous and more distant counties, from towns and cities, Ireland, Scotland and from London. In 1871 alone shoe workers made up 30.54 per cent of workers born in the contiguous counties, but 37.70 per cent of those born in the ring of small towns just outside the catchment area, 36.34 per cent of workers born in more distant counties, rising to 45.37 per cent of workers born in Leicester, 48.55 per cent of London-born workers and 87.23 per cent of workers born in the small towns of Stafford and Stone, a pattern that confirms a positive link between shoe-workers moving to Northampton and urban locations and centres with shoe-working industries of their own. Just under three quarters of all workers (73 per cent) and just over three quarters (76 per cent) of shoe-workers born outside the catchment area were male and working males were more likely than females and juveniles more likely than adults to be shoe-makers from all origins beyond the catchment area,

Distribution of shoe workers by new streets and old

Between 1851 and 1871 the proportion of shoe workers to the total workforce rose from around 44 per cent to 47 per cent, but the distribution of shoe workers remained heavily skewed, more so than the distribution of male and females and of the birthplaces of the inhabitants discussed earlier. Table 17 shows that in 1851 out of 247 streets, in the 60 streets with the lowest concentrations of shoe workers (20 per cent or less of the working population), shoe workers made up on average less than 8 per cent of the working population, rising to just under 39 per cent in 109 streets with a medium concentration, (between 20 per

cent and 60 per cent shoe workers) and to almost 75 per cent in the 78 streets with the highest concentrations (over 60 per cent of the employed population). Geographically shoe workers accounted for over 60 per cent of the work-force in the western half of the old town and the new streets recently developed outside the line of the old town walls (Fig. 63), falling to 20-40 per cent in the eastern half of the old town, and well below 20 per cent in the main streets of the central core and the mainly residential streets in the south-eastern quadrant.

By 1871 a slight dispersal can be seen with 72 streets averaging just under 9 per cent in the lowest category, 152 streets averaging just under 43 per cent in the medium and 110 streets averaging just over 72 per cent in the highest category. But there were significant differences between the older streets containing the commercial core and the longest-established streets of shoe workers and the newer streets of more uniform housing; in the 245 older streets, including the commercial core, shoe workers accounted for just under 46 per cent of the employed population compared with 51 per cent in the 89 streets, overwhelmingly residential, built after 1851. Shoe-workers made up 70 per cent of more of the employed labour force, including adults and juveniles, male and female, in 69 of the 334 streets and between 50 and 70 per cent in a further 93 streets. Concentrations ranged between 30 and 50 per cent in 65 streets and below 30 per cent in the remaining 107.

Geographically the differences between older, poorer courts and side-streets and the upmarket commercial and residential streets were still sharp and shoe workers had colonised the less valued streets on the north and northeast sides, but Fig. 64 shows the bias had shifted visibly to the northwards, leaving the heaviest concentrations, in the north-western part of the town; shoe-workers made up 90 per cent of the working population in St. Liz Street, Scarletwell Terrace and Todd's Lane, 85 per cent in Cromwell Street, 84 per cent in Compton Street, Upper Harding Street and Lower Harding Street, and 80 per cent in Francis Street, all parts of the St Andrew's rookery; and 81 per cent in St George's Square and 75 per cent in Paradise Row, two small enclaves of poor housing less than 100 yards to the east. On the east side of town they accounted for over 80 per cent of the work-force in Market Street, and over 60 per cent along the Kettering Road and the back streets on the north side of it, and in most of the streets on the New Town estate.

Shoe workers were still predominant in a handful of locations in the south-western quarter of town, such as the courts in Quart Pot Lane (90 per cent), Chalk Lane (87 per cent), and Summers Terrace (89.7 per cent). Shoe-workers ranged between 50 per cent and 70 per cent in the new streets built south of the Wellingborough Road in the 1850s and 1860s such as Bouverie Street (56 per cent) but dropped below 50 per cent in Lower and Upper Thrift streets, two streets built in the 1860s. The intensity of employment in the shoe trades diminished further inwards towards the town centre, averaging 20 per cent to 40 per cent in the streets between the Mounts and Abington Street, and in the more prosperous new residential districts developed in the late 1860s off the Billing Road, such as Denmark (28 per cent), Alexandra (22), Harold (24), Alfred (22) and Cyril streets (18 per cent). These were all streets that appear to have been designed for an emerging class of skilled craftsmen, artisans and tradesmen.

Around the main commercial streets shoe trades employed only 18 per cent of the total labour force in Cow Lane (St Giles parish), 12 per cent in the All Saints side of the same street, and 22 per cent in St. John's Lane. Shoe workers were again relatively unimportant in the commercial and industrial streets close to the river and canal, just 9 per cent in Commercial Street. Percentages dropped further still to around 2-5 per cent in all the main streets of the town core. The shoe trades were equally unimportant in the prime new residential streets such as Castilian Street (2.6 per cent), Langham Place (6 per cent) and Spencer Parade (9 per cent) where shoe workers were again described mainly as "shoe manufacturers."

The distribution of male and female shoe workers continued to show distinct variations. Fig. 65 shows heavy concentrations of adult male shoe-workers, who made up 80-90 per cent of the working adult males, including many single men living in lodgings or with relatives, in much of the peripheral parts of the town, while Fig. 66 shows that female shoe workers made up more than 60 per cent of female employment across much of the western, northern and eastern districts, and also in the southern streets, where males were employed in other trades. Northampton-born workers, male and female, were significantly more likely to be employed in the shoe trades than incomers. Fig. 68 shows that in most of the back-streets and courts in

the old town between the Horsemarket and the river, and in the newer developments in the northern and north-eastern sectors more than 70 per cent of all workers born in the town were shoe-workers. This may be partly attributed to the fact that the shoe trades accounted for high proportions of working boys and girls, most of whom had been born in the town, but Fig. 69 shows that more than 60 per cent of Northampton-born adult males were shoe-workers across the western, northern and eastern sectors, while Fig. 70 shows that more than 60 per cent of adult working females were employed in the shoe trades over an even wider area, extending into the southern industrial quadrant where other forms of employment competed for male workers. In the extensive Bridge Street courts only 30 per cent of the work-force were employed in the shoe trades, but this included just 23 per cent of adult males, against 32 per cent of females (and 73 per cent of juvenile females).

Occupations, birthplaces and rateable values

The censuses reveal the significant differences between the employment and birthplace patterns in Northampton, but the property values recorded in the rate books shed further light on the relationships between occupational and birthplace patterns and the rateable values of individual streets and districts. Individual streets can be grouped into four value bands based on the rateable value per capita in 1851 and again in 1871, to show the relationships between rateable values per capita and the relative importance of locally born inhabitants and of workers employed in the shoe trades. Streets in 1871 can be further sub-divided between "old" streets built or begun before 1851 and "new" streets developed more recently. Table 18 shows the relationship between the locally-born population and average street values in 1851 and again in 1871, and between the older and newer streets in 1871. Table 19 shows the relationship between the incidence of shoe workers and average street values, and Table 4 showed the detailed distributions in a range of representative streets.

Table 18 shows that in 1851 87 of the existing 246 streets and courts (just over one third of the total) had average rateable values of under £1 a year per head, the next 101 ranged between £1 and £2 a head, just 32 streets could be considered middle class by the standards of the time and worth between £2 and £4 a head, and the top 26 might be considered up-market, rated at over £4 a head. Individually rateable values per head ranged from well under

£1 a year in most of the courts, rows and terraces in the older part of the town, around and within the central core (£0.55 in Johnson's Row and other nearby dwellings, £0.56 in Upper and Lower Cross streets, £0.67 in the Bridge Street courts, £0.69 in Chapel Place and Gardens, £0.71 in the Bath Street courts, including Wake's Gardens) upwards to £4-6 per head in the main commercial streets, St. Giles Street, Sheep Street and Abington Street) and up to £8 in the Market Square, the Drapery and the Parade and the emerging up-market residential districts. Between the extremes values varied between £1 and upwards in the older side-streets to £1.50 in the newer streets along the Mounts and £2.50 in the secondary commercial streets such as Horsemarket (£2.56) and College Street (£2.53).

By 1871 the number of identified rated streets had risen to 329 (plus the militia stores and four streets just over the borough boundary in Kingsthorpe parish that were outside the rating system). The number of existing streets rated below £1 a head had fallen to 66 (just over a fifth of the total), streets rated between £1 and £2 had increased slightly to 112, those between £2 and £4 had edged slightly higher to 36 and the top-rated streets from 26 to 31. Values per head had risen on average by about 30 per cent as a result of increased rateable values and a perceptible fall in average occupancy per house as new properties came on the market and congestion levels eased.

But changes were far from uniform. By 1871 values per head had risen in 76, fallen in 22 and were unchanged in one out of 99 streets with more than 100 inhabitants in 1851. In 1871 values per head remained below £1 a head in most of the older courts and rows, but in general values rose between 1851 and 1871. Increases in the commercial core ranged from 30 per cent to 50 per cent, topping £10 in Gold Street and the Drapery, against increases of 20 per cent to 30 per cent in the older side-streets streets, but rising again to up to 50 per cent in some of the poorest courts and rows, usually as a result of reduced numbers of inhabitants. New properties meanwhile were heavily concentrated in the middle range. Of the 84 newer streets built after 1851 only five fell into the poorest category, 43 were rated between £1 and £2 a head, a further 27 between £2 and £4 and nine more were rated in in excess of £4 a head.. Values per head ranged from around £1 in Crispin, Alpha, Dover and Exeter, East and Moat Streets to 1.25 on the New Town estate, £1.20 to £1.50 around Bailiff Street, £2 on the Mounts, and up to £2.50 along the north side of the Billing Road.

Movers and stayers: locally born and incomers compared.

Substantial differences in the distribution patterns of individuals, workers and shoe workers born in the major birthplace locations are clear. The highest proportions born locally and the highest proportions of shoe workers were concentrated in the poorest streets and declined progressively into successively higher value bands but the balance shifted appreciably between the two dates. The 246 streets existing in 1851 can be divided into four categories; 87 streets had average rateable values of £1 or less per capita, a further 101 lower middle streets recorded averages between £1 and £2, 32 upper middle grade streets had values between £2 and £4, and 26 up-market streets had average values in excess of £4 a year per head. Table 18 shows that altogether 46.58 per cent of the population had been born locally, but in the two poorest categories local born inhabitants accounted for 48.41 per cent and 48.02 per cent, falling to 45.51 per cent in the upper middle category and 36.72 per cent in the most prosperous streets.

By 1871 the proportion born locally had risen to 49.11 per cent in the town as a whole and had also risen slightly across the entire value range, but in the 71 poorest streets still rated at £1 a head or less the proportion born locally had risen to 54.82 per cent. In the lower middle and upper middle bands the proportions had also risen above 50 per cent, before falling sharply again to 38.37 per cent in the 40 streets now rated at above £4 a head. But distinct differences had opened up between the older and newer parts of the town. In the 246 streets of the old town the concentration of locally born individuals had risen to 50.39 per cent but in the 84 newer streets only 44.47 per cent had been born locally indicating that incomers had taken up a disproportionate share of housing in the new streets constructed between 1851 and 1871. The differences between older and newer streets were consistent across the full range of property values. In the 66 poorest streets of the old town just over 55 per cent had been born locally compared with 51 per cent in the five newer streets. In the lower middle range the 112 older streets contained almost 52 per cent born locally and the 43 newer streets just over 45 per cent. In the upper middle band the difference had widened further to 55 per cent in the 36 older and 43 per cent in the 27 newer streets, while in the top range 39 per cent had been born locally in the 31 older streets and 34 per cent in the nine newer streets. (Table 18).

All workers and shoe workers compared

Table 19 shows that shoe workers were even more highly segregated, making up almost 60 per cent of the working population in the poorest streets in 1851, just over 50 per cent in the lower middle band, but fell steeply to just under 20 per cent in the upper middle ranges and under 4 per cent in the upper brackets, where most if not all individuals employed in the shoe trades would have been factors or employers rather than craftsmen or journeymen. By 1871 the town average had risen appreciably to over 46 per cent, with increases across the board, ranging from 68 per cent in the poorest streets to 55 per cent in the lower middle streets, 29 per cent in the upper middle and just under 7 per cent in the top bracket. Shoe workers had however shifted perceptibly between the older and newer streets, with just under 46 per cent in the whole town, and marginally less than that in the older streets rising to just over 50 per cent in the newer streets. In the poorest streets the proportion varied little from 68 per cent in the older streets to 69 per cent in the newer, but in the lower middle range the proportions ranged from just under 54 per cent in the older streets to 59 per cent in the newer while in the upper middle range a marked difference can be seen between 26 per cent in the older and 34 per cent in the newer, while remaining between 6 and 7 per cent in the top bracket.

While the relative poverty of shoe workers remained clear it is possible to see in these figures a shift in the distribution of shoe workers from the older to the newer streets and from the poorest towards the middle ranked streets, coinciding with the emergence of a slightly more prosperous class of shoe workers, mostly employed in the newer “factories” which had grown up in the intervening 20 years mainly in the newer parts of town, on the Mounts and New Town estates. That would indicate that the shift from an exclusively handicraft industry to a more factory based and specialised activity had actually benefited the work-force as a whole in spite of the widespread protests caused by the forced introduction of machinery.

The existence of patterns of distribution do not of themselves establish causal connections, and even where associations can be strongly inferred, and the intensity of distributions has been carefully chosen, patterns will not always coincide. But the degree of association between various elements can be demonstrated by the use of statistical correlations. Figs. 20-

21, 50-54 and 62-70 show the variations in the spread of individuals by birthplace, by employment in the town's staple trade of boot and shoe working, and the types and range of accommodation measured by average rateable values per head of the population. The concentration of shoe workers in the very poorest properties is unmistakeable even if there is a secondary concentration in the western, northern and eastern districts. The coincidence between streets with large numbers of shoe workers and streets with a high proportion of inhabitants who were born in the town is also apparent. Multiple links between large numbers of locally born, high proportions of shoe-workers and the poorest streets and high proportions of incomers from longer distant birthplaces, low concentrations of shoe workers in the most prosperous streets, are also unmistakeable.

The high proportions of incomers whose children were born in the town inevitably blurs comparisons. Nevertheless correlations suggest that the local born population was significantly poorer than the incoming population and was also significantly more heavily represented in the shoe trades, two facts which are closely linked. Correlating the proportions of inhabitants born in the town with the average rateable value of properties, in 1871 there was a negative correlation of -0.26, using the Pearson's correlation which for a set of this size can be considered significant below -0.117. Using the Spearman's ranked correlation in order to minimise the effects of very small or unusual units the negative value was -0.30, where –0.095 could be considered significant for a population of this size. Proportions of incomers from towns and villages with a shoe working tradition show the next largest negative correlations average rateable values of the streets, at -0.25, against -0.21 for incomers from the nearby towns, many of which are themselves shoe-working centres. Incomers from the surrounding villages show a positive correlation of +0.17 mainly as a result of the high proportion of village born servants in the richer streets, while incomers from outside the catchment area show a positive correlation of +0.37, at least in part due to the lower proportion of relatively poorly paid shoe workers among the long range migrants.

The correlations are not entirely homogenous across the town, indicating that other factors such as the sorting effects of economic and social pressures on the locally born and on incomers and the effects of average age, and the length of time since the incoming populations arrived in the town also played a part in shaping the community of incomers as

well as the characteristics they brought with them from their places of birth. The town can be divided geographically into a dozen identifiable sub-districts with an average of 20-30 streets in each (for which significance levels will necessarily be reduced). The correlation of average rateable values per head with the locally born population ranges from -0.34 for the central core and -0.37 for "the Mounts" (the district north of Wood Street astride the Upper and Lower Mounts), and -0.23 for the eastern residential district (between the Kettering and Billing Roads and east of Palmerston Road) to +0.06 for the western district (between the Horsemarket and the river). This compares with -0.30 for the town as a whole. For individuals born outside the catchment area however, the correlations range from +0.48 in the central core streets and +0.45 in the Mounts district to -0.09 in the western district, and an average for the town of +0.37. For incomers from villages the correlations range from -0.11 in the central core to + 0.35 in the eastern residential district, where values will have been inflated by the incidence of village-born servants. Inevitably the relationships are statistically less reliable because the number of streets in each district ranged between 20 and 30, but the apparent variations are enough to strengthen the impression that individual parts of the town still had some distinct characteristics of their own.

The high incidence of village born servants pushes up the town-wide correlation between average rateable values and incomers from villages to +0.17. For incomers from local towns, the range is close to zero in all districts except the southern industrial zone which shows a negative correlation of -0.39. For individuals coming from towns and villages with a shoe-making tradition the correlations with rateable value per head range from zero in the western district to -0.21 in the industrial southern district and -0.33 on the Mounts. If shoe workers from all origins are analysed the town-wide correlation with rateable values per head is a striking -0.59 and for Northampton-born shoe-workers –0.48. For all Northampton-born workers there is a negative correlation with average rateable values of -0.25.

Patterns on the ground

Northampton had become a complex socio-economic unit based on the extent and quality of its housing stock, and moulded by the occupations and origins of its inhabitants. Correlations are not however the only available measure of the relationships between the component

elements. The resulting mix can be displayed as patterns on the ground in order to show the extent to which its principal features overlapped or remained distinct and formed the patterns so beloved of urban geographers. Fig. 71 shows the relationship between the distribution of the most valuable properties, the locally-born population and the prevalence of shoe-working and the extent to which the poorest housing, the highest proportions of local-born inhabitants and the largest numbers of shoe-workers coincided, while the areas of best housing were concentrated in the main streets where the proportion of incomers was highest. High concentrations of incomers and high rateable values per head were also closely associated with high proportions of female inhabitants, and domestic servants.

Women and work

No survey of the employment structure and patterns would be complete without an assessment of gender differences and role of women in the workforce. The restricted opportunities for women to work in professional and entrepreneurial employment have been widely recorded, by geographers and by historians such as Geoffrey Best.[3] In industry they were primarily regarded as cheap labour, and domestic service was by far the largest female occupation, employing 13.3 per cent of the employed population of England and Wales in 1851, rising to 14.6 per cent in 1861 and peaking at 15.8 per cent in 1871.[4] Banks found that in England and Wales in 1851 90 per cent of indoor servants were female, although the proportion fell between 1851 and 1871.[5] Conditions remained entirely unregulated and varied widely from the relatively pampered roles of housekeepers and ladies' maids in wealthy houses to the miserable conditions for maids of all work or household skivvies, earning as little as 2s (10p) a week plus board and lodging.

In Northampton the shoe trades provided the greatest opportunities for women to work, and for women born in the town in particular, but domestic service was the second most important occupation for women in the town in 1871. Excluding coachmen, ostlers and grooms there were no more than a handful of male servants, but domestic service employed 1,373 individuals, over 90 per cent of them female, and mostly aged between 15 and 25. Once again there were major differences between the employment opportunities for women

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[3] G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain, 1851-75*, New York, 1972, pp.87-8, 99-110.
[4] Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p.79, based on *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, xlix, 1886.
[5] J.A. Banks, *Prosperity and Parenthood: a Study of Family Planning among the Victorian Middle Classes*, London, 1954, pp.83, 86-7.

born in the town and incomers. While women and girls born in the town were mainly employed in the shoe trades, incomers and especially women and girls from the rural villages were much more likely to be employed in domestic service, or as nurses, cooks and washerwomen. Only 184 females specifically described as domestic servants or less than 15 per cent of the total employed in service in 1871 had been born in the town itself, and they made up less than 5 per cent of the total number of employed females born in the town. A further 255 (18.57 per cent) were born outside the catchment area. More than half of these longer-range incomers were born in the nine neighbouring counties (plus the Nassaburgh Hundred in the north of Northamptonshire itself), including 33 in Buckinghamshire, 19 in Bedfordshire, 22 in Warwickshire, 19 in Lincolnshire, 14 each in Leicestershire and Oxfordshire, eight in Huntingdonshire and four each in Rutland and Cambridgeshire, but in no case did they account for more than 7 per cent of the females living in the town who had been born in those counties.

The remaining 934 servants (68.03 per cent) had been born within the catchment area around the town, exceeding the 796 female shoe workers from the catchment area. Within this total domestic service attracted relatively few females (137) born in local towns and especially those born in towns with a competing tradition of employment in the footwear trades. Domestic service absorbed just ten females born in Wellingborough (3.4 per cent of all Wellingborough-born females living in Northampton in 1871), six (3.1 per cent) of those born in Kettering, three (3.8 per cent) of those born in Daventry and just one out of 27 females born in Brackley, the most distant of the local towns in the catchment area. Proportions were also low among incomers from the other larger settlements with a shoe-making tradition of their own such as Rushden (4.3 per cent), Raunds (4.5 per cent), Earls Barton (4.7 per cent) and Wollaston (6.7 per cent). The only clear exception was Long Buckby, a large shoe-making village that also supplied 28 female servants, making up 19.7 per cent of the Buckby-born females living in Northampton in 1871. Contributions were slightly higher, around 10 per cent of all incoming females from towns with a less established shoe-making tradition including Olney, Oundle and Towcester.

By contrast almost 60 per cent of all servants in the town had been born in farming villages in the catchment area, and by far the largest proportion of these were girls aged between 12 and

20 who had been born in villages within half a dozen miles of the town, making it more likely they had moved direct to the town. Domestic service attracted between a fifth and a third (and exceptionally up to a half) of the females coming from the larger villages and from those with no competing tradition of employment in the shoe trades. If settlements with fewer than 10 incomers working as servants are excluded, around two dozen nearby villages were significant suppliers of domestic servants. They included 37 from Kingsthorpe (20.6 per cent of the females from the village living in the town in 1871), 25 (23.1 per cent) from Moulton, 23 (30.3 per cent) from Brixworth, 18 (20 per cent) from Wootton, 17 (38.3 per cent) from Upper and Lower Heyford, 16 (24.2 per cent) from Harpole, 15 (25.0 per cent) from Blisworth, 15 (27.8 per cent) from Piddington, 14 (18.9 per cent) from Holcot and 14 (12.5 per cent) from Little Houghton, 14 (32.6 per cent) from Ecton and 14 (9.9 per cent) from Hardingstone), 13 (26.0 per cent) from Dallington, 12 (32.4 per cent) from Bugbrook, 12 (19.7 per cent) from Pitsford, 12 (18.5 per cent) from Spratton, eleven each from Kislingbury (15.6 per cent), from Milton (18.6 per cent, Flore (28.2 per cent) and East Haddon (28.9 per cent) and ten from the Bringtons (23.3 per cent).

Beyond a six miles radius however, only Creaton with ten (29.4 per cent), and Walgrave with eleven (23.4 per cent), both nine miles north of the town, Yardley Hastings, eight miles to the south-east with 17 domestic servants, 48.6 per cent of females born in the village and living in Northampton, and Newnham (eleven miles away to the west with 12 servants out of 48 females living in Northampton) qualified as significant sources of servants. Further out the number of servants from individual villages was always less than ten and became increasingly sporadic. No servants had been born in the smaller villages such as Althorp, Brockhall, Canons Ashby, Castle Ashby, Cottesbrooke, Horton and Steane, all places with less than 100 inhabitants and/or dominated by a single large landowner, whose establishment may have been large enough to absorb all the spare young female labour.

Most were employed as live-in servants in the houses of prosperous individuals, although about 10 per cent were recorded as servants while living as family members in their own homes. (As such these were not recorded on the town distribution map, (Fig. 25). Most provincial urban households employed only one servant but the ability to employ a servant was regarded by commentators from Rowntree onwards as a primary indicator of middle

class status.[6] Live-in domestic servants were heavily concentrated in the more prosperous parts of town, in the main commercial streets such as Sheep Street, Abington Street, Gold Street, St. Giles Street and the upper part of Bridge Street, and especially in the up-market residential streets such as Spencer Parade and Cheyne Walk and along the Billing Road as well as in Royal Terrace, all streets where rateable values were at least £20 a house, rising to as much as £100, in all of which servants made up as much as a quarter of the resident population. Elsewhere the record of female servants falls away and very few servants were recorded in houses rated as low as £10. By implication most households in Northampton employed servants as a luxury and status symbol and relatively few households had servants primarily to undertake household chores and free their employers for paid employment.

Conclusion:

The town's reputation as a single industry town is underlined by the very high and rising proportion of the total working population employed in the shoe trades. Shoe workers were however very heavily concentrated in the poorest and oldest parts of the town, where the highest concentrations of locally born were also to be found, pointing to a strong association between locally born population, the shoe trades and poverty. Nevertheless the spread of shoe workers from the older to the newer districts and from the poorest into the middle ranges of property does suggest an improvement in the standards of at least a significant part of the shoe working population, even if much of it was made up of incomers rather than locals.

The concentrations of individuals and groups of inhabitants according to their age, gender, and especially their occupations, their places of birth and their socio-economic status measured by average rateable values per head varied considerably between individual streets and districts over time, but clear differences can be seen between the employment patterns of workers from different origins, their distribution across the town and their status, based on average rateable values per head of the streets in which they were concentrated.
Locally born workers made up a disproportionately large percentage of the working population, of males and especially females, employed in the shoe trades. Locally born individuals also made up a distinctly larger share of the population in the older poorer

[6] S. Pooley, 'Domestic servants and their urban employers: A case study of Lancaster, 1880-1914,' *Economic History Review,* 62, (2) 2009, p. 407.

peripheral streets of the towns, and especially on the western and northern outskirts, perceptibly lower concentrations in the newer, rather more upmarket streets on the Mounts and on the eastward extensions of the town, in the commercial quarter alongside the river, canal wharves and main rail route into the town. There was also a substantial shortfall in the proportions born within the town and living in the main streets of the commercial core and the two up-market residential zones developing along the Kingsthorpe Road leading out of town to the north, and the Billing Road to the east. The local-born population as a whole constituted a depressed class relative to incomers and especially to those born outside the catchment area.

Incomers born in the villages around Northampton were widely distributed across the town but were less likely to be shoe-workers and accounted for a substantial majority of the young domestic servants, mostly females aged between 14 and 30. Incomers from the nearby towns and industrial villages were more likely to be shoe workers, while longer-range incomers included some shoe workers from other centres of the trade including Leicester, London and Stafford. But incomers born beyond the catchment area were much more likely to live in the most prosperous streets, and were generally less likely to be shoe workers, and the females were less likely to be employed at all, a probable indicator that as a class they were economically the most successful inhabitants of the town.

Exactly why the local-born population was more highly concentrated in the poorly-paid shoe trades and the poorer properties is a moot point. The ease with which the local-born population found work in the shoe trade may have played a part, and the strong feelings of community and kinship among the local-born population may actually have made it more difficult for them to move out and move on and take advantage of wider opportunities. Socio-economic factors may therefore offer an explanation as much as superior ambition and ability. But the coincidence between high concentrations of locally-born individuals, high concentrations of shoe workers and the oldest, poorest housing is too great to ignore.

Chapter 10

The tide of incomers

The previous two chapters examined the age, gender, occupations and origins of the population in 1851 and again in 1871 and their distribution within the town. The main aim of this chapter and the one following is to analyse in some detail the nature and extent of the relationships between Northampton and the towns and villages in the surrounding catchment area and the forces driving changes in the catchment area, pushing people out of their native parishes and pulling them into the town; and to review the main features of inflows of people living in Northampton in 1851, and again in 1871, by age, gender, occupation and places of birth. This study has calculated migration quotients to measure the strength of population movements into Northampton in the decades up to 1871, constructed migration profiles to show the extent and intensity of the migration patterns around Northampton and measured the size and significance of contra-flows from the town to the surrounding settlements

A later section covers incomers from further afield, reflecting the different scales of the flows and patterns involved, but there is a common treatment and a common conclusion. The objective is to measure the differences between incomers from various origins and compare them with the profiles of the inhabitants who had been born in the town; to relate these findings to those drawn from other studies of Victorian migration flows and to assess the extent to which the conclusions confirm or contrast with the standard laws on migration advanced by Ravenstein in the nineteenth century. Special attention has been given to differences in age, gender and employment patterns, to the extent to which locals and incomers were drawn into the town's principal industry and also to their relative status, measured by the common yardstick of rateable values per head.

Motives for migration: push and pull.

The censuses provide a consistent and widely used source of information on the birthplaces of individuals but as Pooley and Turnbull[1] point out this does not represent a true measure of the scale and complexity of migration flows, and provides no direct information on mobility within their eventual locations. There is no doubt that in practice population movements were even more complex than the raw statistics show; even the fastest-growing settlements experienced outflows of people, including those born locally as well as incomers moving on, while substantial numbers of incomers had been moving from village to village, and from town to town, and in many cases from village to town before moving on or returning to their original homes, and in virtually every case there is evidence of smaller simultaneous reverse flows between major and minor settlements. It is however clear that net flows were from villages to towns and from small towns to large towns, and that many villages and small towns with less than 5,000 inhabitants lost population through migration for decades at a time.

Population numbers responded to a range of factors, demographic, social and economic, which combined to push surplus population out of individual settlements and pull them into places where prospects seemed more attractive. Push factors include the excess of births over deaths, the balance of supply and demand for labour and the opportunities for work, on the land and in village trades and services. Pull factors reflect the perceived opportunities for work, accommodation and social contacts elsewhere and especially in the fastest-growing settlements, of which Northampton itself would have been the most obvious. Together with underlying changes in the numbers of births and deaths these factors were reflected in major changes in parish populations between 1851, the date of the first census where individual birthplaces are recorded, and 1871.

People had been moving from village to village, villages to towns and from town to town and town to city well before the start of the nineteenth century, in response to declining work and social opportunities in village communities and the prospects for a new start increasingly

[1] C.G. Pooley and Jean Turnbull, pp. 94, 306-8.

available in the growing towns and cities. But the process reached its greatest scale during the nineteenth century, when growth in many towns and cities attained a momentum of its own.[2] The motives for individual migration are legion. But the sheer scale of migration and the forces that drove the movements of population are undeniable. The starting point for most work on the subject was and remains Ravenstein's seminal studies of the laws of migration, published in various forms between 1876 and 1889 and summarised and reviewed by Grigg in 1977.[3] He concluded that the majority of movements took place from village to town mainly over short distances and often in a series of steps and in response to mainly economic forces, with males and females responding in slightly different patterns. Northampton's size and central location, mid-way between north and south, east and west, set in an accessible and substantial hinterland with no larger neighbours within close proximity (Leicester 30 miles, Coventry 30 miles, Luton 31 miles, London 68 miles) provides an ideal opportunity to review the laws at work.

Redford, in another pioneering study published in 1926[4] postulated the drift of migrants in mainly short-range waves from the countryside to the towns. He discussed the roles of relative fertility and mortality rates in town and country, the concept of rural over-population, and identified various push and pull factors over time, including the enclosure of common land, improvements in farming technology, the consolidation of holdings and the switch from arable to grazing, the impact of settlement laws and the parish poor rates, and especially the prospect of new jobs and opportunities and higher wages in expanding towns. He identified two major poles of attractions in the north and west of England and a third towards London[5], (leaving towns such as Northampton on the boundaries of major flows).

More recently Lawton among others summarised the factors at work. Major themes include the enclosure of common land and improved farming methods, which simultaneously raised

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[2] See J. A. Banks, 'The Contagion of Numbers' in H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff, (eds.), *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, vol. 1, London, 1973, pp. 105-22.

[3] D.B. Grigg, 'E.G. Ravenstein and the "Laws of Migration" ' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3, (1977), 41-51. See also discussion in D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the 'Laws of Migration', in M. Drake, (ed.), *Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on Family and Community History*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 147-164.

[4] A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850,* 3rd edition, revised and edited by W. H. Chalenor, Manchester, 1976, esp. pp.69-70.

[5] Redford, see Maps D and E, pp. 192-3.

production and reduced the demand for labour in the countryside. New industries created better opportunities for work in towns, while improvements in transport led to easier, faster and cheaper travel. At the same time villages became less self-sufficient, demand for rural craft industries, services and for local commerce began to decline, and improved communications led to an increase in available information about the opportunities in towns and cities. While individuals and families moved from town to town in growing numbers even larger numbers migrated from countryside to town in search of work and better prospects.

Elsewhere the various causes of rural depopulation are also discussed by Clout[6] and the relative contributions of push and pull factors have been considered by Pryce[7], The forces at work were however far from uniform. The population numbers living in individual parishes still reflected in part the legacy of the settlement laws, which had encouraged large land-owners to evict unwanted families and pull down houses in order to reduce potential burdens on the rates. The differing attitudes of local freeholders led to increasing differences between "close" villages, where employment opportunities and housing were controlled by a small number of freeholders or even a single landowner, whose interests were in reducing the number of landless families liable to become a charge on the local parish, and "open" villages where larger numbers of freeholders could make land available for the building of cottages to house excess workers, whose surplus labour could support village crafts or "exported" on a daily basis to work on the fields of farmers in neighbouring parishes.[8] Differences between close and open villages have been discussed by Mills, and by Clout.

Population change in the catchment area. 1851-71

The catchment area, defined as the area roughly 15 miles around Northampton and coincident with the parishes served by country carrier routes, in 1851 contained around 173,000 people living in 300 separate parishes, including ten market towns and eleven towns that had a tradition of boot and shoe making, of which Wellingborough, Kettering, Daventry and

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6 H. D. Clout, *Rural Geography, an Introductory Survey,* Oxford, 1972, pp. 11-31.

7 W. T. R. Pryce, (ed.), *Studying Family and Community History*; *From Family History to Community History,* vol. 2, part 1, Cambridge, 1994, p. 13

8 See D.R. Mills, 'The Geographical Effects of the Laws of Settlement in Nottinghamshire', in D.R. Mills, (ed.), *English Rural Communities,* pp. 12-15, 182-92.

Towcester were the largest. A further ten villages had established shoe trades, the remaining 269 settlements including 18 in adjacent parts of Buckinghamshire and nine in Bedfordshire, were substantially agricultural, although lace-making remained a significant occupation for women in many villages in the southern half of the county.

The enclosure process in Northamptonshire and its consequences have been reviewed by Greenall. The enclosure and subsequent consolidation of fields which began in the second half of the eighteenth century continued in Northamptonshire well into the nineteenth century. Many small landholders were unable to afford the cost of fencing their fields and were forced off the land. Large landowners put much enclosed land down to grass, further reducing the demand for hired labour. Some dispossessed workers looked for work in other trades or if all else failed were supported by local rate-payers or accommodated in the local union workhouses. Given the options it is hardly surprising that many villagers chose to move to nearby towns in search of work and wider opportunities, and the population of more and more rural villages began to fall. Foster however emphasised the relative importance of push factors from rural poverty into an almost equally poor town.

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increasing differences between “closed” villages where employment opportunities and housing were controlled by a small number of freeholders and “open” villages where larger numbers of freeholders could make land available for the building of cottages to house excess workers, some of whom were then “exported” on a daily basis to work on farms in neighbouring parishes.

Static and declining populations did not improve the availability or the quality of rural housing. Best reports claims at the Social Science Congress of 1873 that “one third of the agricultural houses of Britain required to be rebuilt.” The poor quality of rural housing in Northamptonshire and the sporadic efforts of a handful of more enlightened landowners such as Charles Rothschild, Lady Overstone, the Duke of Grafton, the seventh Duke of Bedford, and the fourth Earl Spencer to provide better housing to retain desirable tenants have been described in a recent article in the journal of the Northamptonshire Record Society. Successive censuses record many villages with houses listed as uninhabited which may in practice have been uninhabitable.

The combined effects of push and pull factors led to a general fall in population numbers in the rural areas around Northampton between 1841 and 1871. Between 1851 and 1871 alone population numbers including urban and rural parishes rose by about 8 per cent, substantially less than the rate of natural increase, and in the rural villages alone totals were virtually static. But an exodus of surplus rural population to the towns was not the only factor at work. The impact of the railways, both positive and negative, is obvious, with numbers rising 30-50 per cent in Wellingborough and Kettering, both on the Midland main line from London to Leicester and Derby, and stagnating or declining in Daventry and Towcester, both by-passed by the main line from London to Rugby and Birmingham. The impact of the shoe trade in parishes such as Earls Barton, Raunds and Ringstead is also clear. As a general rule however towns fared better than villages and shoe parishes fared better than others. Numbers went up by 8 per cent in the ten market towns, by 31 per cent in the eleven shoe towns, and 24 per cent in the shoe villages. Over the same period the population of the rural villages increased by just over 1 per cent. But here again there were substantial variations. Altogether 102 villages grew, including 30 by more than 20 per cent, four were unchanged and 163

decreased, 28 of them by 20 per cent or more. The effects varied considerably, even between adjacent parishes, but a loose pattern can be seen in Fig. 72.

Numbers fell furthest in a handful of small parishes with individual populations under 100 and owned by a single landowner, but there was a general pattern of declining population in the mainly agricultural villages across the hilly country running along the western side of the county from just north of Banbury and along the spine of the county through Cold Ashby, the highest parish in the county, and beyond the Ise valley into Rockingham Forest. A similar line of overall decline can be traced along the Whittlewood and Salcey Forest ridges between the valleys of the Nene and the Ouse. Even large villages such as Brixworth, Crick, Kings Sutton, Byfield, Yardley Hastings and Potterspury were not immune. But numbers continued to rise in the more industrialised towns and large villages along the middle Nene valley, and especially Wellingborough and Kettering, Rushden, Raunds, Irthlingborough and Earls Barton, where the shoe trades were already well established. In these places population numbers rose by more than 20 per cent between 1851 and 1871 in spite of the competing drawing power of work in Northampton. Together these trends indicate the much greater mobility of workers in the shoe trades and the ability of the shoe parishes simultaneously to support rising local populations and to augment the growth of Northampton. The largest increases of all however took place in villages on the fringes of Northampton itself, where by 1871 new building had just begun to spread across the town boundary into Duston, Dallington, Hardingstone and Kingsthorpe.

Population mobility within the catchment area

The sheer size and importance of the population flows and the contribution of migrants to the great changes in the populations of individual towns and villages are undeniable. Rural populations as a whole were in an unprecedented state of flux, but in spite of the social and economic pressures at the time prompting local populations to move, the evidence shows that the extent of the movements should not be exaggerated and the population of most villages and even local towns remained relatively immobile. There are cases where individuals had evidently moved elsewhere and had children born there before returning to their home parish, but net migration rates throughout the catchment area were everywhere significantly lower

than into Northampton itself; just under half the population of the county town had been born there, but the populations of parishes within the catchment area were overwhelmingly local-born, and most of their incomers came from adjacent parishes. Village populations were even more isolated than in larger settlements, and the existence or absence of shoe-making activities made little difference. Around 70 per cent of the inhabitants of even the growing shoe-making villages of Long Buckby, Earls Barton, Wollaston and Raunds had been born locally in 1851.

The incidence of individuals born in their home parishes has been calculated for a range of representative parishes, including the larger towns, shoe-working parishes, and rural parishes of different sizes and distances, both for 1851 and 1871 (Table 20). In 1851 46 per cent of the population of Northampton itself had been born in the town, but in Daventry, a market town with a shoe-making industry, 54 per cent were locally born, rising to 60 per cent in Towcester, an old-established market town on the Watling Street. Further down the Nene valley almost 53 per cent of the inhabitants of the market town of Oundle had been born in the town. Locals still made up 60 per cent of the population of Wellingborough, rising to 65 per cent in Kettering, the two largest towns within the catchment area, and both railway towns with established shoe-making industries of their own. Such numbers suggest that the larger towns retained their ability to hold onto a substantial share of their locally born inhabitants as well as attracting in-migrants of their own.

Elsewhere persistence rates of the locally-born population (defined as the percentages of inhabitants born in the parish) ranged from under 60 per cent in Eydon, a village on the western edge of the catchment area ten miles equidistant from four local market towns, to more than 80 per cent in the large but isolated village of Yardley Hastings, nine miles east of Northampton. The unusually low level of just under half in the large village of Guilsborough was influenced by the number of incomers living in two large country houses, the rectory and a local grammar school. Size and function, recent population changes and distance from Northampton generally made little difference to persistence rates. Close to Northampton locals made up 60 per cent of the inhabitants of Weston Favell in 1851, 65 per cent in Kislingbury and Kingsthorpe, and 70 per cent in Duston village. Persistence rates were between 60 per cent and 70 per cent in small farming villages such as Blakesley and Cold

Ashby. In the large village of Brixworth, centre of its own poor law union but with no industry, more than 70 per cent had been born in the village. Over 70 per cent of the inhabitants of the large farming villages of Naseby, Potterspury and Paulerspury were born locally. In small shoe-making villages such as Wollaston, Ringstead, Walgrave and Harpole around 65 per cent were locally born. In the large shoe-making villages of Long Buckby and Earls Barton almost 70 per cent had been born locally and in Raunds, another large shoe village due to grow rapidly in the next two decades, 72 per cent had been born in the parish in 1851. Across the border in north Bucks 78 per cent of the population of the large shoe-making village of Hanslope had been born in the village and 65 per cent in the small town of Olney.

Two decades later the contribution of incomers had declined slightly in Northampton itself, from 54 per cent to 51 per cent. Daventry, Towcester and Oundle had all stagnated between 1851 and 1871 but they were still relatively open towns, with relatively large catchment areas of their own and incomers made up almost 50 per cent of their totals. Elsewhere the proportion of incomers rose in more than half the parishes, but persistence rates were still high and actually rose in a number of parishes. Incomers still made up only 23 per cent of the inhabitants of Desborough, a silk weaving town, and 30 per cent of the population of Rothwell, an old-established market town with links to Kettering but no direct links to Northampton. Kettering and Wellingborough meanwhile had grown rapidly between 1851 and 1871 and the share of incomers had risen substantially from 40 per cent to 52 per cent in Wellingborough, as a result of rapid population growth and the establishment of a substantial community of railway workers, almost all of whom were drawn from places such as Rugby, Leicester and Derby, but the proportions of incomers in total populations was still only just over 40 per cent in Kettering, a large and relatively flourishing town with shoe-making and iron-founding activities. Incomers made up only around 40 per cent in Rushden, a shoe-making town with a population of more than 2,000, and in Olney, a market town in the Ouse valley with a small shoe-making industry. Elsewhere rapid growth in numbers made relatively little difference to the balance of locals and incomers. Raunds grew by almost 40 per cent but the share of locals fell only from 72 per cent to 68 per cent. Earls Barton and Long Buckby increased significantly in numbers but both places appear to have retained a substantial number of their inhabitants and around 70 per cent of the population in 1871 were still locally born.

Outside the main towns and industrial villages population numbers at best stagnated in many villages and fell significantly in some. In such cases large numbers must have left the parishes, but there was an evident influx of replacements. Total numbers fell by 20 per cent in the small shoe-making village of Holcot and in the farming villages of Brixworth, Naseby, Eydon and Byfield, but the percentages of locals fell only slightly. On the outskirts of Northampton Weston Favell's population declined but the share of locals also fell while Duston parish and Kingsthorpe both grew rapidly as a result of overspill, but the proportion of locals fell only slightly in Duston and Kingsthorpe villages. In the railway village of Roade incomers increased to just over half the total, but total population fell slightly. Retention rates were noticeably low in almost all the smallest villages and hamlets containing large country houses. Resident large landowners usually brought most of their staff from elsewhere and tenant farmers and their labourers were also often imported, whether the landowners were resident or absentee. Even if individuals born in adjacent hamlets within the parish are included just 20 per cent had been born locally in Castle Ashby and the adjacent hamlets of Whiston and Chadstone, 20-30 per cent in Fawsley, Althorp, Brockhall, Canon's Ashby and around 40 per cent in Faxton and Strixton.

Effects of proximity, urban origins and occupations on migration

These figures show clearly the complex nature of migration flows around individual settlements, but the tables also show the existence of an underlying inflow of population from the catchment area into Northampton itself. Against this background the size and force of the pressures that persuaded surplus population to move to the town of Northampton cannot be underestimated. In 1871, 27 per cent of the population of the town had been born in the catchment area, roughly 60 per cent of them in rural villages and 30 per cent in local towns, and these incomers accounted for 35 per cent of the working population and 31 per cent of the totals employed in the shoe trades in the town.

The census for 1871 shows that three factors were at work: firstly a proximity effect where incomers were drawn into Northampton by the sheer proximity of a large and fast-growing town, where employment opportunities as well as the social advantages of urban living were

likely to have an impact. This effect can be measured by comparing the number of incomers born in individual parishes and living in Northampton with the numbers living in their parishes of origin (See pp. 219-22), and shows that the proportions were generally highest coming from adjacent parishes, and fell steadily with distance from the town. Secondly an urban effect can be identified (p. 222), where incomers from the larger settlements generally exceeded those from surrounding rural parishes and whose population may already have had a greater awareness of the opportunities a move to a larger town might offer; and thirdly a specific shoe-making effect (pp. 222-3), based on the attraction of employment in Northampton in a trade that would have been familiar to incomers from towns and villages with a shoe making tradition, even if they were not already employed in those trades, which many of them clearly were. In combination the three factors indicate that both villages and towns show a negative relationship between the flow of migrants and distance from the town. Towns and large villages in the catchment area show perceptibly larger relative migration flows than surrounding villages. So do towns and villages where boot and shoemaking were relatively important sources of employment throughout the period.

Migrants from the catchment area to Northampton, 1871

Population numbers born in various places outside the town can only be accurately recorded on the precise census dates and there is no ready method of identifying when individuals moved to Northampton, or indeed whether they arrived in a single move or via intermediate stops, individually or as part of a family unit. Almost half the population had been born in the town, just over a quarter within the catchment area and just under a quarter further afield in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland and overseas. In 1871 incomers from the towns and villages in the immediate catchment area of Northampton, accounted for 27.2 per cent of the resident population of the town. The rural villages accounted for almost 60 per cent of the catchment area, just under 30 per cent came from the 21 towns and villages with a tradition of shoe-making, defined as having more than 10 per cent of the total population classed as boot and/or shoe workers in one or both of the censuses. The balance came from market towns.

Incomers from the catchment area can be assessed in various ways, by age, gender, occupations and different types of birthplace origins, and the numbers can be measured,

tabulated, recorded and compared. The proportions of males and females, adults and juveniles, workers and shoe workers drawn from the towns and villages and shoe-working parishes within the catchment area have been summarised in Table 21, which shows that males outnumbered females among incomers from the outlying villages in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire but females accounted for almost 54 per cent of all incomers from within the catchment area as a whole, and more than 55 per cent from rural villages, reflecting the high numbers of young females. Geographically there was a marked difference in the patterns of male, female and juvenile migrants from within the catchment area as a whole. Fig. 73 shows that within the catchment area male migrants were in a majority coming from a ring of parishes around the outer edge of the catchment area. It follows that females dominated the inflows from within the ring of nearer villages.

Fig. 74 meanwhile shows that substantial proportions of incomers from within the catchment area were juveniles, under the age of 18 at the time of the 1871 census. On balance juveniles however moved only short distances into the town. In 1871 they accounted for around 20 per cent of all incomers from the catchment area, but 45 per cent of the incomers from Kingsthorpe, 34 per cent from Hardingstone and 31 per cent from Duston, suggesting that the youngest incomers may have made their first move on foot and retained the strongest links with their home village. Percentages of juveniles from the next ring of villages fell to 29 per cent from Wootton, 26 per cent from Weston Favell, 23 per cent from Moulton, 21 per cent from Dallington, 19 per cent from Boughton, 14 per cent from Pitsford, 13 per cent from Rothersthorpe, and only 8 per cent from Billing. Further out the proportion of juveniles falls sharply to 10 per cent or less and to zero in the majority of parishes around the edge of the catchment area, and the link between age and distance incomers travelled becomes increasingly random. In general the proportions coming from market towns was lower than from shoe-making towns, and from shoe-making villages than from rural villages. Within the catchment area as a whole young girls arriving outnumbered boys by 25 per cent rising to 35 per cent among incomers from the rural villages but numbers coming from the townships were almost equal in number.

Although shoe-workers made up smaller proportions of the working population born in the rural villages, the sheer dominance of the shoe trades in the employment structure of the town

ensured that shoe-workers constituted an important element in the pattern of incomers from the catchment area. Table 22 shows the differences in the employment structure of incomers from town and villages and shoe-making parishes within the catchment area. Shoe-makers made up lows of 36 per cent of adult working males and 21 per cent of adult working females born in rural villages, rising to highs of 68 per cent of adult working males and 60 per cent of adult working females from shoe-making towns. Fig. 75 confirms visually that more than 20 per cent of the adult males born in more than half the parishes in the catchment area and living in Northampton in 1871 were employed in the shoe trades, rising above 40 per cent in roughly half the parishes and over 60 per cent in up to 40 parishes concentrated in the valleys of the Nene, the Ise and the Ouse, including the larger towns of Kettering and Wellingborough, Daventry and Towcester, a cluster of townships including Raunds, Irthlingborough, Earls Barton and Long Buckby, where the shoe trades were also active. But the numbers alone clearly show that as well as established shoe-workers a substantial numbers of male migrants must have been drawn into the shoe trades from rural parishes, and the same would have been true of the smaller numbers of females.

Migration quotients

Migration quotients have been calculated for each parish in the catchment area, defined as the numbers born in each location and living in Northampton in 1871 as a percentage of the populations living in their places of origin at the time of the 1851 census 20 years earlier. For example Northampton in 1871 contained 92 individuals who had been born in the village of Weston Favell, then two miles out of town, which had a population of 508 in 1851, giving a migration quotient of 18.11. There were 591 incomers born in Wellingborough, nine miles away, with a population of 5,297 in 1851, giving a migration quotient of 11.46, and 23 born in the distant village of Byfield, with a base population of 1,021 in 1851, giving a migration quotient of 2.25. The earlier base date has been chosen to reflect the fact that the timing and therefore the age of individuals on arrival cannot be quantified, but most incomers are assumed to have arrived independently aged at least 15, while the average age of incomers was roughly 20. A parallel calculation using 1871 data as a base date shows only slight differences. Inevitably the quotient varies greatly from parish to parish especially with distance from the town of Northampton, but Fig. 76 shows the concentric pattern surrounding

the town. Table 21 shows variations between towns and villages with and without shoe-making traditions, and totals for a range of individual parishes were included in Table 20.

Within the catchment area as a whole incomers living in the town in 1871 who had been born in the catchment area amounted to just over 6 per cent of the numbers who had been living in their birth parishes in 1851, producing an average quotient of 6. Within this total quotients ranged from just over 4 from the market towns, to 9 from the shoe towns, and 6 from the rural villages to 8.5 in the case of shoe-making villages. Individual quotients range from around one or two in a hundred for the more distant villages in the catchment area to 20 and more in the case of villages adjoining the town itself. Inflows into Northampton were the dominant but by no means the only movements that can be identified.

Migration quotients can be used to measure the strength of the forces acting on the population of the surrounding parishes, including the effects of distance and the push and the pull factors at work. The factors can conveniently be divided into three, distance, urbanisation and the presence of the shoe industry. Ravenstein's first law states that the majority of moves took place over short distances, a pattern sometimes referred to as the gravity model. Fig. 76 shows its effects in Northamptonshire. Predictably enough parishes closest to Northampton show the greatest concentrations, with migration quotients in the town in excess of 20 in the source population from the adjoining parishes, Kingsthorpe, Dallington, Duston. Hardingstone, and nearby Great and Little Houghton, and 15-20 from almost all the next tier of parishes out to between five and seven miles around the town itself. Most of the parishes out to a distance of approximately ten miles show migration quotients of between 10 and 20 per cent of their 1851 base populations living in Northampton by 1871.

Most parishes up to a 12 miles radius recorded quotients of between 5 and 10, surrounded by a further band up to around 15 miles where between 2.5 and 5 per cent of the 1851 populations were living in Northampton in 1871. Beyond 15 miles the concentrations in Northampton fell below 2.5 per cent of the base populations, while the actual numbers of incomers from individual parishes fell into single figures and then mostly to zero, marking the outer edges of the drawing power of the town. Quite large areas of the west and south-

west of the county, along the borders of Warwickshire and Oxfordshire lay largely outside the main area of influence, while parts of North Bucks, including the border villages and the town of Olney, and the nearest villages across the border in Bedfordshire show relatively strong indications of the attractive power of Northampton.

The roughly concentric pattern of movement into Northampton is largely to be expected. The Northamptonshire Uplands, rising to almost 1,000 feet near Cold Ashby, presented a significant barrier to early railways but no major obstacles to movement by road, or problems for farming and the even distribution of settlements. There are however some visible anomalies; some of which may be explained by local differences in birth and death rates, marriage patterns and family sizes as well as by the availability of local employment from place to place, the attitudes of local landowners in particular and the consequent ability of settlements to hold onto increasing populations. Variations were greatest in small parishes such as Horton (population 56 in 1851, 101 in 1871) or Strixton (56 and 48 respectively), where these random factors are more likely to be influential.

Positive anomalies include the village of Holcot which supplied 134 individuals to Northampton in 1871 (equal to 26.4 per cent of its 1851 population) at a time when its own population fell from 508 in 1851 to 404 in 1871. Litchborough, nine miles west of Northampton with no direct means of communication by road or rail, nevertheless contributed 49 individuals to Northampton or 11.7 per cent of the village's 1851 population, roughly double the rate of the surrounding parishes. Both of these villages had previously had shoe-making activities that had fallen away sharply by 1871. Negative anomalies include the large village of Brixworth, centre of its own Poor Law Union and seven miles north of Northampton. Its population, excluding the inmates of the workhouse, fell from 1,258 in 1851 to 1,112 in 1871, but by 1871 it had lost just 120 to Northampton or 9.54 per cent of its 1851 population, appreciably less than its adjacent, smaller, village neighbours such as Spratton and Scaldwell.

Distance alone was clearly not the only factor at work. Migration quotients were higher than expected from the larger settlements and also from towns and villages with established shoe-

making activities of their own. Larger settlements and shoe-making parishes such as Wellingborough, Kettering, Long Buckby and Rushden stand out on the map (Fig. 76). The combined effects of the proximity, urban and shoe making effects can also be seen in the significantly higher migration flows from nearer parishes, larger settlements, and those with an ongoing shoe-making tradition. The migration quotients for the six parishes which physically adjoined Northampton range from 14.87 to 25.49, and testify to the effect of distance. The impact of the urban and shoe-making effects can be seen in a detailed assessment based on migration quotients for each of 20 towns and large villages with in excess of 1,200 inhabitants, compared with the quotients for their immediately adjacent parishes in order to discount the effects of proximity, which records the effect in sharper relief. Table 23 shows that in nine urban locations, (Kettering, Wellingborough, Daventry, Towcester, Rothwell, Olney, Long Buckby, Higham Ferrers and Raunds), the migration quotients for individuals living in Northampton in 1871 were at about double those of the immediately adjacent parishes. In Kettering for example the quotient was 7.7 compared with 3.9 for the nine parishes whose borders ran with Kettering. For Wellingborough the figures were 11.5 and 5.4 for the eight contiguous parishes. In a further six locations parish quotients were significantly larger than for the adjacent parishes.

Eight of the nine locations showing the strongest urban effect were also places where the 1871 census includes a significant number of boot and shoe workers. Comparisons for smaller parishes where shoe-making was relatively important including Walgrave, Harpole, Wootton, Piddington, Brafield, Earls Barton, Wollaston, Higham Ferrers, Irthlingborough and Ringstead confirm the relationship. Although comparisons are sometimes complicated by the fact that individual settlements adjoined others in the list, in most cases these parishes record significantly higher migration quotients than their neighbours. For the more isolated village of Walgrave, the quotient was 12.9 per cent against 9.3 per cent in the surrounding parishes. For Wollaston, comparable figures were 7.06 and 5.30, for Piddington 19.68 and 14.62. Closer to Northampton however, in Wootton, Duston and Harpole the shoe-making effect was overshadowed by the proximity effect.

Migration profiles

The broad extent of the migration patterns around Northampton and the combined effects of the proximity, urban and shoe-making factors are shown in Fig. 76, but the limitations imposed by the need to group the data within four bands may obscure some of the significant differences. The catchment area of Northampton can however also be defined by constructing migration profiles across the region and through the town itself, where the quotients for individual parishes can be expressed as columns showing the percentages of the 1851 base population who had moved to Northampton by 1871. Fig. 77 shows a series of six migration profiles, running from north to south from Little Bowden on the outskirts of Market Harborough through Northampton and on southwards to Stony Stratford on the southern edge of the county (profile A); from Brackley in the south-west to Middleton in the north-east of the catchment (profile B); from Banbury in Oxfordshire through Kettering to Corby and Great Weldon (profile C); from the western edge of the county at Braunston and Staverton through Daventry to Northampton and on eastwards through Wellingborough to Raunds and Ringstead, on the end of the line of shoe-making villages along the Nene valley (profile D); from Rugby through Long Buckby and Olney to Bedford (profile E); and from Welford in Leicestershire through Spratton and Stoke Goldington to Newport Pagnell in Buckinghamshire (profile F). In many cases these sections run close to the main turnpike roads between the major towns in the county but these roads were designed for longer-distance communications and usually by-passed the main intervening villages. The profile lines selected for this study take in more of the substantial settlements along its routes; settlements further than one mile from the straight lines and those with less than 100 inhabitants have however been excluded.

It would be surprising if the profiles were entirely regular, running as they do through a variety of settlements with individual population changes and social and occupational features. But the results appear to confirm the shape and size of the catchment area, which was roughly concentric but slightly elongated in a west to east direction in line with the grain of the land. Profiles also confirm the extent and strength of the proximity effect, showing remarkably high concentrations of incomers from villages in the immediate vicinity of the town, with averages of 20 per cent or more of the base populations in 1851 living in Northampton by 1871, falling quite rapidly to 10 per cent or below, then to 5 per cent. The

attractive power of Northampton dwindles still further with distance until it fades away at around 12 miles in all directions, with the exception of the north-eastern section along the Nene valley towards Raunds and Ringstead, where the proximity effect is boosted by both urban and shoe-making effects and the influence of Northampton was felt as far afield as Stanwick, 18 miles away. The gradient is shallowest along the long axis from WSW to NNE, WNW to ESE and SSW to NNE, steepest where the axis is shortest, from NNW to SSE and NW to SE. The urban effect can be seen in larger settlements up to 20 miles away including Brackley, Rugby, Market Harborough and Newport Pagnell, Thrapston, Rothwell and Olney, and especially in Kettering, Wellingborough, Daventry and Towcester, where it is combined with the shoe-making effect, which can also be clearly seen in parishes such as Long Buckby, Rushden and Raunds, Hackleton and Piddington. A handful of anomalies can also be seen, including the high inflows from Holcot and Walgrave, both of which were initially shoe-making villages but lost much of their shoe-making population to Northampton in the 1860s.

Contra-flows

The influx of people born outside the parish in which they lived represents only part of the complex flows of population. Ravenstein's fourth law of migration recognised the complexity of migration flows and the fact that population movements were never entirely in one direction, so that even places whose populations were overall in decline were receiving inflows from near and far, of which some would represent measurable reciprocal flows. [9] Details of contraflows are less well recorded at local levels but substantial movements of population between various towns and villages and neighbouring parishes can also be identified from the census enumerators' records in the catchment area of Northampton, and add another order of complexity to the extraordinary mobility in the nineteenth-century population of the region. In particular significant flows can be seen between the county town and all the surrounding townships and villages.

Migration flows were however clearly in favour of the larger settlements, and reverse flows from larger to smaller settlements were significantly less. A detailed analysis of exchanges of population born in the catchment area to Northampton with reverse flows of people born in

[9] See D. B. Grigg, in M. Drake, (ed.), p. 153.

Northampton and included in Table 20 shows the scope and scale of contra-flows and illustrates significant differences according to size, distance and function. Reflecting the town's dominant position within its catchment area contraflows from Northampton were weaker than the inflows and declined even more rapidly than inflows with increasing distance from the town.

They also diminished over time; while inflows to Northampton from the 40 parishes shown in Table 20 increased between 1851 and 1871, contra-flows grew in barely half the 40 parishes. The relatively smaller scale of contraflows reflects the dominant position of Northampton and the fact that populations of smaller towns and of villages without ongoing shoe working traditions were more often than not declining. While shoe-working towns and villages could offer the prospect of employment to Northampton-born shoe workers, there was little or nothing to attract them to rural settlements.

There is evidence of an active interchange of shoe-workers with significant outflows from Northampton to Wellingborough, Daventry, Long Buckby and Earls Barton, but elsewhere the majority of individuals born in Northampton but living outside the town included significant numbers of wives and dependent children born in the town to returning parents, as well as service providers such as inn-keepers and tailors, doctors and school-masters and mistresses, and a handful of prosperous individuals listed as farmers or factors. In 1851 less than 1 per cent of the populations of Kettering and Towcester, 1.68 per cent of Wellingborough, 2.54 per cent of Daventry and just 2.06 per cent of the village of Ecton had been born in Northampton, declining to 1.81 per cent in Earls Barton, 1.43 per cent in Wollaston. For Brixworth the figure was 1.15 per cent and for Long Buckby 1.37 per cent. On the outskirts of Northampton the contraflow into Weston Favell was only 3.5 per cent of the village population; even in adjacent Kingsthorpe, only 81 individuals, 5.11 per cent of the total, had been born in the town.

Between 1851 and 1871 contraflows from Northampton increased as a percentage of parish populations in little more than half a sample of 40 parishes, but the increases were most marked in the direction of the larger settlements and the shoe-making towns and villages in

particular and inflows remained strongly in favour of Northampton; in 1871 outflows matched inflows in only one place, the parish of Duston, which contained part of the overspill district of St. James' End. Elsewhere contraflows from Northampton reflected the size of the destinations, ranging from around 40 per cent of the inflows from Wellingborough and Kettering the two largest towns within the catchment area, both of which were also shoe-making centres, and around 25 per cent with the shoe-making centres of Daventry, Raunds, Long Buckby and Earls Barton, and between 10 per cent and 20 per cent with villages within a radius of up to six miles from the town. Further afield the contra-flows fell rapidly to less than 10 per cent of the inflows to the town beyond a six-mile radius and lower still to the smaller and more distant villages.

Some outflows from Northampton may have reflected the exodus of shoe workers from Northampton after the upheavals of 1858-59. Almost 300 shoe workers born in Northampton can be traced in the 1871 census to other parishes within the catchment area, mainly in Kettering, Wellingborough, Daventry, and in the adjacent "overspill" villages of Dallington, Duston (St. James' End) and Kingsthorpe. By 1871 Wellingborough contained 229 individuals born in Northampton, many of them dependent children, or 2.44 per cent of the substantially increased total resident population of Wellingborough itself. Closer to town the percentage born in the town had risen to 7 per cent of Weston Favell's reduced total, but just 3.74 per cent in Kingsthorpe village's expanded total.

Duston was a special case. Just over 11 per cent of the population of Duston parish had been born in Northampton, and the numbers were almost exactly equal to the influx from the parish into the town. But Duston was already a parish of two halves, the old village and the suburb of St James' End, already effectively a rapidly growing overspill area just across the West Bridge from the town. In the old village, just two miles from the town, 65 per cent of the inhabitants had been born in the parish and not quite 7 per cent in Northampton, but for the 994 people living in Duston St James' End the proportion born in the parish fell to barely 30 per cent and those born in the town increased to 14.08 per cent, making the district extremely mixed, with 56 per cent born in other places. There is no means of knowing what proportions of the influx from Duston parish to town came from the suburb and the village

respectively, but net flows are likely to have been strongly outwards from the town into St James End and inwards from the old village.

Likewise the 1871 census data for the large village of Kingsthorpe, on the northern edge of the town, show that more than 40 per cent of the population of the streets along the boundary between town and village, all built after 1851, had been born in the town, and less than 15 per cent had actually been born in the parish of Kingsthorpe; but this area was already a new suburb rather than a source of reciprocal population flows. For the village alone, a mile to the north, less than 5 per cent had been born in the town, and the contraflow from the town was just under 30 per cent of the influx from the village.

Further afield the movements out of Northampton were progressively smaller than the inflows. People born in Northampton made up between 2.0 and 2.5 per cent of the populations of Wellingborough, Kettering and Daventry and almost 2 per cent of Towcester. People born in Northampton also made up between 2 and 3 per cent of the populations of shoe-making villages such as Long Buckby, Earls Barton and Harpole. The influence of the railway can be seen in the slightly stronger links with the railway village of Roade (1.44 per cent born in Northampton in 1851 and 2.81 per cent in 1871, a contra-flow of just over a quarter the size of influx to the town) Similar influences were at work with Blisworth, Ecton, Spratton and Brixworth, all villages then with local stations linked to the town. Elsewhere Northampton-born people made up 1.36 per cent of the population of Raunds, a large shoe-making parish 20 miles from Northampton, just over 1 per cent for Olney, but less than 1 per cent for Wollaston, a shoe-making village on the other side of the Nene from Northampton, 0.5 per cent for Rushden and 0.25 per cent for Ringstead, a smaller shoe-making village further down the Nene valley. Northampton-born people made up around 0.5 per cent of the population of Rothwell, and for more distant rural villages links were even more tenuous.

The relative sizes of the contraflows in relation to the inflows declined accordingly, from just over 40 per cent for Kettering and 37 per cent for Wellingborough, around 25 per cent for the shoe-making centres of Long Buckby and Earls Barton, Daventry and Raunds, between 12 and 20 per cent for the towns of Towcester, Rothwell and Olney, and the shoe-making village

of Wollaston but fell below 10 per cent in the more distant shoe-making parishes of Rushden and Ringstead. The higher mobility of shoe workers where work opportunities were available can be seen in the composition of the outflows from Northampton. Shoe workers accounted for 40 per cent of the reverse migrants from Northampton to Kettering, 35 per cent to Daventry, between 25 and 30 per cent to Wellingborough, Raunds and Earls Barton, and around 20 per cent to Duston and Long Buckby, declining to 15 per cent to Kingsthorpe village, Brixworth and Spratton, under 10 per cent for Olney and Wollaston and zero for most rural villages.

Correlations

The extent to which distance from Northampton, the sizes of populations, rates of population change, the prevalence of shoe workers and the retention levels of locally born population (which can be compared with Ravenstein's Local Element calculations) are associated can be assessed by correlation tests. Calculations for every parish have not been attempted but for the 40 sample parishes recorded in Table 20, where the ranked correlations are significant above 0.26 and -0.26, distance from Northampton shows negative correlations of -0.37 with migrants to Northampton and -0.67 with migrants from Northampton, indicating the relative weakness of contraflows out of Northampton. High levels of locally-born individuals in 1851 are positively correlated (0.85) with high levels persisting in 1871, and negatively correlated (-0.42) with incomers from Northampton, confirming the weakness of contraflows from the town to parishes with relatively low levels of attraction. The larger parishes in both 1851 and 1871 were associated with relatively high levels of migration both to (0.67) and from (0.58) Northampton, confirming the relative mobility of individuals in the more urbanised settlements. The percentages of shoe workers among migrants to Northampton were positively linked (0.47) with the larger settlements and the higher numbers of inflows generally (0.49).

Longer-range migrants.

The drawing power of Northampton diminished rather quickly with distance and migration quotients for incomers to Northampton were inevitably much lower, and in virtually all cases less than 1, even from contiguous counties. Migration quotients and migration profiles are therefore not practical tools in assessing the significance of migration flows from beyond the catchment area but the data for English counties, for Scotland, Ireland and Wales and for London and the leading towns and cities do make possible general comparisons between the inflows from nearer and further places and selectively from urban and general locations. Distance alone was a significant factor with notably small numbers born in the most distant counties of Cornwall, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Wales and Monmouthshire (72). But urban areas contributed appreciably higher proportions to the flow of migrants to Northampton than the counties in which they were located.

The urban effect applied both to the ring of small towns just outside the immediate catchment area and to larger cities in more distant counties such as Leicester, Bristol, Birmingham and Manchester as well as London. Of the 725 migrants born in Leicestershire 200 came from the county town, 32 miles to the north-west and a further 80 from the small town of Market Harborough just 15 miles north of Northampton. One in five of the 551 incomers from that part of Buckinghamshire beyond the immediate catchment area of Northampton came from the small town of Newport Pagnell, with 3,824 inhabitants in 1871, and 18 miles to the southeast of Northampton. Almost a third of the 653 migrants born in Bedfordshire, came from the county town, and a quarter of the 201 incomers born in north Northamptonshire outside the immediate catchment area of the county town, came from Peterborough.

Further afield fewer incomers came from large cities than from the surrounding areas: of 195 incomers from Lancashire, 40 came from Manchester, of 660 born in Warwickshire, 180 came from Birmingham on the furthest edge of the county. Of the 327 people who had been born in Staffordshire, 88 came from the relatively small shoe centres of Stafford and Stone. The largest single source of incomers was London, with 1,382 individuals born within the

metropolitan area, excluding those parishes in Middlesex, Surrey and Kent not then part of the capital's conurbation.

Contiguous and distant counties

Just under a quarter of the town's inhabitants in 1871 had been born beyond the catchment area, and within this total 37 per cent of them came from the eight contiguous counties, 54 per cent from the more distant counties of England, including London, and the balance from other, more distant places of origin, including Ireland, Scotland and Wales, overseas and those whose birthplaces were unknown. Details have also been separated out to show the differences in age groups, gender, working patterns and occupations for incomers born in adjacent towns, Rugby, Market Harborough, Peterborough, Bedford, Newport Pagnell and Banbury, just outside the catchment area, for selected cities, Leicester, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol and Stafford located in the more distant counties, and also for London, Ireland and Scotland. Just under 6 per cent of longer-range incomers had been born in the towns just outside the catchment area, a similar proportion in distant urban locations further outside the catchment area, 15 per cent in London alone, just 3.5 per cent in Ireland and less than 2 per cent in Scotland.

Incomers from outside the immediate catchment area of Northampton had by definition travelled greater distances and some incomers born in rural villages beyond the catchment area may well have already been urbanised elsewhere before they arrived in Northampton. Nevertheless the three effects noted in relation to incomers from the catchment area continued to operate to a significant extent among longer-range incomers. The largest numbers and the highest percentages relative to their source populations came from the immediately adjacent counties, (Ravenstein's short-journey migrants). Beyond the inner ring of counties numbers and proportions fell away steadily in all directions.

The proportion of males, juveniles and infants among the longer-range migrants also significantly exceeded the proportions among incomers from within the catchment area. Some 51.23 per cent of the longer range incomers were male, compared to 46.23 per cent of

short-range incomers, and 22.63 per cent were aged 17 or under, compared to 20.87 per cent of short range migrants. The effects of distance and urban origins can be clearly seen in the details. Males made up almost 50 per cent of incomers from contiguous counties and just over 50 per cent from adjacent towns rising to almost 53 per cent from more distant counties and from London, 56 per cent from Ireland, 64 per cent from Scotland and 52 per cent of those born abroad.

Males outnumbered females among incomers from adjacent Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire and Buckinghamshire on the south and east of Northampton, while women outnumbered men coming from Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire on the north and west, confirming the impression of a net underlying westward and northward drift of males and a southward and eastward drift of females. Males made up 48.84 per cent of the incomers from the inner ring of immediately adjacent counties, 51.66 per cent of those born in the next circle from Staffordshire round through Cambridgeshire, Berkshire and Gloucestershire, 51.68 per cent of incomers from the southern counties of England, 50.34 per cent from western counties and Wales, 53.70 per cent from eastern counties and 58.14 per cent from northern industrial counties, including 62 per cent of the incomers from Lancashire.

Shoe workers comprised 30.54 per cent of working incomers from the contiguous counties rising to 36.34 per cent from more distant counties, 37.70 per cent from the ring of small towns just outside the catchment area, rising to almost half of all working incomers from London and other large cities and 87.23 per cent from the special shoe towns of Stafford and Stone.

The Irish and Scots

The census of 1851 records 269 Irish-born individuals living in the town, most of them single men and women, together making up just over 1.1 per cent of the total resident population (excluding soldiers in the Barracks and nuns and female students living in the Convent of Notre Dame). The total included 185 males (68.8 per cent) and only 84 females. There were

44 juveniles (16.4 per cent), 19 male and 25 female. Irish-born residents included two surgeons, a police chief and a senior officer in the revenue services, who all showed signs of being long-established in the town, as well as a significant number of dealers, hawkers and pedlars, many living in lodgings or sharing houses. Around 100 were concentrated in just half a dozen streets, around Grafton Street and the nearby Scarletwell Street, Bull Lane and the Upper Mounts. All of these streets were poor, judged by average rateable values per head. More than half the Irish-born males were employed in the shoe trades (90 out of 156 adults and eight of the 19 boys. Out of 59 adult females, just five were shoe-workers, 18 in other employment and 36 not working. Four juvenile females were employed in the shoe trades, two were in other employment and 19 not working.

Many of these individuals would have died or subsequently moved on by 1871. Although the resident population of the town had risen by 50 per cent in twenty years, only 326 inhabitants had been born in Ireland, compared with 269 in 1851. The timing of the influx of Irish-born cannot be measured precisely, nor whether most arrived in Northampton soon after their first landing in England, or arrived in the town by a random spread or were attracted specifically to the town by the prospect of work in the shoe trades. But the fact that only 11.76 per cent of the Irish-born were under the age of 18 in 1871 suggests an initial pulse in the early 1850s, while the relatively high proportion (45.57 per cent of employed males and 39.44 per cent of all Irish born employed workers) who were working in the shoe trades in 1871 suggests that many had adopted the trade by default after their arrival in the town. Twenty years after the 1851 census there were clear indications of dispersal, the numbers recorded as lodgers, although still above average, had declined significantly, and married couples both of whom were born in Ireland were few. But the streets showing the highest concentrations of Irish-born were still among the poorest parts of town (see Fig. 58a).

The imperative that drove the Irish to journey as far as Northampton was certainly economic. They were however less successful than the Scots-born, who were less numerous, equally far-travelled, equally male-dominated (64.71 per cent male) and adult (only 12.36 per cent under 18), but only 32.73 per cent of males and 6.67 per cent of Scots-born females were working in the shoe trades. From their distribution inside Northampton in 1871 with significant numbers living in the more up-market streets (Fig.58b), many had carved out relatively

comfortable niches as hatters, drapers and tailors, tea and provisions merchants. As proportions of the on-going population however, the numbers of Irish and Scots who had found their way to Northampton were negligible.

Incomers from London and other urban areas.

Almost 1,400 individuals in Northampton in 1871 (3.5 per cent of the town total) had been born in London and the adjacent parts of Middlesex and Surrey that became the London County Council. They came mainly from St. Giles parish in Holborn, Clerkenwell, Marylebone, Hackney and Bermondsey, and included 350 shoe-makers, just under 49 per cent of those in employment. Almost 37 per cent of the London-born were juveniles, aged 17 and under, who were unlikely to have made the move on their own. Many were children of Northampton-born fathers; their presence suggests an active two-way flow of shoemakers between London and Northampton, and that many Northampton-born shoemakers moved to London, and subsequently returned, bringing young families with them. A further 500 individuals were born in the five selected cities of Leicester, Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol and Stafford. Together cities sent relatively more migrants to Northampton than the counties in which they were situated, The proportion of males from large cities ranged from 52 per cent from metropolitan London, 54 per cent from Leicester and 88 per cent from Stafford where shoe-making was well established, but only 43 per cent from Birmingham, a place well known for the variety of employment in metal-working trades dominated by male workers), rising to 70 per cent from Bristol and 78 per cent from Manchester where employment for women was freely available.

Locals and incomers compared.

Clear differences existed between the locally born population and incomers from all origins. Just over half the local-born population was female in 1871 but females made up 38 per cent of the local-born work-force and 41 per cent of the workforce employed in the shoe trades. The dominance of the shoe trades among the working population born in the town is unmistakeable, accounting for 61 per cent of the entire work-force born in the town, including 58 per cent of working males and 65 per cent of females, a figure that underlines the need for females to find work, the ease with which they could find employment in the

shoe trades and the relative lack of alternatives. The concentration of locally born inhabitants in the poorest streets is equally marked

The incoming population also contained more males, fewer juveniles, a smaller proportion of workers and of shoe workers, and the structure of the incoming population itself varied significantly between incomers from the catchment area and from more distant locations and between urban and rural origins. Incomers from rural villages provided the highest proportion of females, but low proportions of shoe workers, especially women. Incomers from the specialised shoe villages also had high proportions of females but among the highest proportions of working migrants and shoe workers, and especially male. The townships also ranked high for shoe workers, both male and female but shoe workers were less prominent among incomers from market towns. Contiguous and distant counties contributed low levels of shoe worker while distant counties generated significantly more males and juveniles than contiguous counties. Nearby towns supplied few juveniles and shoe workers but distant cities contributed relatively large numbers of juveniles and shoe workers. Incomers from London had the highest proportion of juveniles next to the town itself, but ranked relatively low for employed workers. Incomers from Ireland and Scotland supplied the highest proportions of males and workers but relatively few juveniles or shoe workers.

Conclusion

Earlier chapters showed that incomers to Northampton made up more than half the population in 1851 and again in 1871 rising to 70 per cent or more in the commercial core and the up-market residential streets. This chapter breaks the origins and occupations of incomers down to identify and measure the main factors at work in driving population movements and bringing incomers to Northampton from the catchment area and from more distant counties, and from townships, shoe-making parishes and rural villages within the catchment area and urban and shoe-making centres further afield. Within the catchment area the main features and local variations can be measured and mapped, using migration quotients and migration profiles. Beyond the catchment area quotients are tiny in comparison to the catchment area, and the opportunities for dispersal in aggregate were much greater; but the total volume of migration from outside the catchment area was still substantial and the

effects of distance, urban origins and shoe-making skills can be shown. The distinctive features of incomers from urban and rural counties, from shoe-making towns and counties, from nearby towns and from larger cities, and from Ireland and from London, both of which contributed significant total numbers to the town population, can also be identified. The next chapter will attempt to assess the extent to which these observations formed part of the universal patterns of migration in nineteenth-century England.

Chapter 11

Ravenstein and the Laws of Migration.

Differences between incomers from various distances and origins, urban and rural revealed by the newly released census material from 1951 onwards provided rich pickings for historical and urban geographers from 1851 onwards[1], and these differences have provided the core of the second half of this thesis, based on distances travelled and differences in ages, occupations and origins. Incomers from outside the immediate catchment area of Northampton had by definition travelled greater distances and some incomers born in rural villages beyond the catchment area may well have already been urbanised elsewhere before they arrived in Northampton. Nevertheless the three effects noted in relation to incomers from the catchment area, distance, urban origins and links with shoe-making, continued to operate to a significant extent among longer-range incomers, alongside differences in age, gender and employment. Together these factors formed a complex web of relationships which constituted the social and economic framework of Victorian Northampton and its catchment area.

The proportions of adults and juveniles, males and females, working and not working, and workers employed in the shoe trades arriving from different origins formed a complex pattern linked to the distances travelled and to urban or rural origins and to their occupations, shown in Table 24. Salient differences can be ranked and compared. Differences were most marked between the locally-born population and incomers, but rankings show substantial differences between incomers from rural villages, shoe-making parishes, contiguous and distant counties, adjacent towns, distant cities, London, Ireland and Scotland.

Migration, distance and urbanisation

The differences revealed by Table 24 require explanations, the most obvious of which involved distances travelled, the levels of urbanisation in the source areas and the prevalence or otherwise of workers with shoe-making skills. Distance alone is the most obvious.

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[1] See R. J. Dennis, *English industrial cities of the nineteenth century,* Cambridge, 1974, pp. 25-9, 33-45.

Numbers of incomers diminished steadily with distance from the town, but the greater intensity of migration to Northampton from urban and shoe-making centres is unmistakeable. The urban effect applied both to the ring of small towns just outside the immediate catchment area and to larger cities in more distant counties such as Leicester, Bristol, Birmingham and Manchester as well as London. But Northampton was just a microcosm of wider movements.

Ravenstein revisited**.**

Many studies have examined aspects of the flows of migrants at every level from national to local, in order to identify and quantify the forces at work over time and the relationships between distance travelled and direction of travel by incomers from different occupational categories and birthplaces. Morrill attempted to create models based on the concept of central place theory developed initially by Christaller and extended by Berry, Garrison and Pred, to explain the flows of population from the countryside to town and the expansion of central places in Southern Sweden.[2] Grigg quotes the findings of Redford, Darby and Cairncross amongst others. But the starting point for most work on the subject was and remains Ravenstein's seminal studies on the laws of migration, published in various forms between 1876 and 1889 and summarised and reviewed by Grigg in 1977.[3]

The 1841 census divided inhabitants only into those born in or outside their place of residence, and the 1851 census recorded data for registration counties, whose boundaries often differed substantially from the civil counties; census data was only standardised on the civil counties in 1861. Ravenstein's calculations were based on the 1871 census. He classified migrants into local migrants who had moved within their county of birth, short-journey migrants who had moved only to a contiguous county, and long-journey migrants. But his calculations and conclusions were necessarily based on aggregate numbers for whole counties, not on the birthplaces of individuals. He made no attempt to quantify the relationship between numbers and distance or construct gravity models, and it was left to

[2] R.L. Morrill, *Migration and the spread and growth of Urban Settlement*, Lund, 1965.
[3] See page 209.

later researchers such as Llewellyn-Smith and Friedlander and Roshier, to calculate distances between the mid-points of source counties and destination counties.[4]

Ravenstein's conclusions are nevertheless important. He used as his primary raw materials the summary tables of the 1871 census, divided into residents of England & Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the crown dependencies and into 118 counties including 40 in England and 13 in Wales, and 87 urban centres, 62 of them in England & Wales.[5] Ravenstein based his conclusions primarily on an analysis of the proportion of each county's resident population born there (the Local Element), and the balance of all persons born in the county and living elsewhere. The full calculations are extremely laborious but figures for England & Wales showed an average of 22.1 per cent of the population of England & Wales lived beyond their counties of birth; lower figures were consistent with net inflows of migrants and higher figures indicated high dispersal rates, while an average of 74.0 per cent of local resident populations were born there and lower figures implied high inflows or high outflows and higher figures indicated low inflows and/or above average retention rates. He calculated that seven of the 40 English counties had high retention/low dispersal rates and in 1871 recorded less than the national average of 22.1 per cent living beyond their birth counties and 33 had below average retention/above the average dispersal rates.

Many counties are very close to the averages, but of the seven with high retention/low dispersal rates four (London, Middlesex, Yorkshire and Durham) also had high attraction rates, with more than the national average of 26 per cent of their inhabitants born outside their counties of residence. The remaining three, including Cornwall, Staffordshire and Lancashire had low dispersal rates combined with lower than average attraction rates. Of the 33 with above average dispersal rates of 22 per cent 19, including Northamptonshire and much of southern England, also had below average attraction rates with less than 26 per cent of the population born outside and more than 74 per cent born locally. The remaining 14 had above average dispersal and above average attraction/below average retention rates.

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[4] D. Friedlander and R. J. Roshier, 'A study of internal migration in England and Wales', part 1, *Population Studies,* 19, (1966), pp. 239-79. They found that between 1851 and 1911 average distances moved between all adjacent counties increased only from 45 to 53 miles and between all counties and all non-adjacent counties only from 107 to 114 miles.

[5] This summary is based on a reprint of Ravenstein's original text dated 2009 which lacks the accompanying maps.

For good measure Ravenstein's 1876 essay included population gains and losses for the counties and towns in the decade to 1871. The figures need to be interpreted with close attention to local conditions, including county size and proximity to main growth points. Remote Cornwall for example combined a low dispersal rate of just 17 per cent living beyond the county and a low attraction rate of only 9 per cent of incomers with actual falls in total population numbers. Tiny Rutland had a high dispersal rate of 43 per cent, a low attraction rate (72 per cent local) and a static population. Northamptonshire had a (high) dispersal rate of 29 per cent, a (low) attraction rate of 21 per cent incomers and a modest increase in population of 7 per cent. Durham combined a low dispersal rate of 15 per cent and a high 35 per cent incomers with a 35 per cent overall increase in a decade. Non-metropolitan Surrey combined a high dispersal rate of 29 per cent with a high attraction rate of 44 per cent incomers and a 40 per cent overall increase in population. Non-metropolitan Middlesex combined a low dispersal of 17 per cent and high attraction rates (41 per cent incomers with a 40 per cent increase in population, London likewise combined a low dispersal rate of 17 per cent with a high attraction rate of 37 per cent, although its sheer size affected the numbers; while London grew rapidly in the nineteenth century, over long periods its percentage increases were less than in some smaller industrialising cities in the North of England and the increase between 1861 and 1871 was only 16 per cent.

Ravenstein applied similar analysis to the large towns and concluded that large towns grew substantially by attracting migrants over longer ranges than rural counties and their powers of attraction are related to size, growth rates and distances involved and the extent of competition from rival centres. Proximity to county boundaries was also important in determining Local Elements in towns and cities. He established that for example the Local Element in all Lancashire was 74.7 per cent of the resident population, but for Manchester it was 66.1 per cent, for Liverpool 58.7 per cent and for the rural areas of the county 80.2 per cent born in the county. For Preston however, far from the county boundary, the local element rose to 86.3 per cent and fell to 52.2 per cent for Barrow, on the northern edge of the county. Elsewhere Birmingham, on the edge of a county, had a Local Element of 66.3 per cent born in Warwickshire but Bristol recorded 89.0 per cent born in Gloucestershire.

Ravenstein's work was confined to individual counties and towns or cities, with no parallel attempt to assess migration flows below the county level, or at the level of individual parishes, and his detailed statistical conclusions need to be interpreted with caution. But using counties as his basic unit of calculations he was able to show the effects of distance and urbanisation levels on migration flows and establish the importance of identifying "first zones" of contiguous, and second and subsequent zones of more distant counties. He also identified reverse or counter-flows, and analysed the balance of males and females to show that males were more likely than females to emigrate beyond their birth country, but that 110 females in England & Wales lived beyond their birth counties for every 100 males. The evidence from this study is in some ways more extensive and makes it possible to infer refinements to Ravenstein's conclusions.

His evidence was comprehensive enough to draw up the eleven laws or rules. The first law stating that the majority of migrants go only a short distance is amply confirmed by the results from Northampton showing that even within the catchment area migration quotients fell from 20 to less than one over a distance of 15 miles. The evidence from Northamptonshire also shows that more than half the migrants from individual rural parishes moved only to the next parish. The conclusion that migrants going long distances go by preference to a substantial town can be inferred from the faster growth and wider reach of larger settlements and the overall trend appears to have been from villages to small towns, from small towns to larger towns and ultimately from cities to the metropolis. Ravenstein was aware that ease of access and proximity of other large towns affected the shape and strength of migration patterns, Darby has drawn attention to the strength of the powerful attractions of London, Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire,[6] and the evidence from Northampton confirms a detectable underlying drift of males from east to west in the direction of the industrial Midlands, and females from west to east, to and through Northampton.

The second law concluded that most migration take place step by step and that intermediate settlements had the effect of acting as transit points for migrants moving from smaller to larger settlements in a long-range pattern of drift. He pointed out the effects of the pull of

[6] H. C. Darby, 'The movement of population to and from Cambridgeshire between 1851 and 1861', *Geographical Journal*, 101, (1943), 118-25.

London on a zone of contiguous counties and a secondary zone of counties one step removed from London as evidence of an extended area subject to the attractive powers of the capital. Grigg however concluded that "the few writers who have reconsidered the concept have been sceptical of its validity."[7] The law is difficult to substantiate from the few surviving family histories. Detailed analysis for migration between census dates is now possible, using data compiled by family historians, but has not been attempted here[8]; very large databases used for tracing family migrations can be affected by differences in the spelling of surnames over time, by the sheer frequency of common names such as John Smith and common local surnames in Northampton such as Clark(e) and Wright, and by the deaths of children, and errors in recording ages and changes of occupations between successive censuses.[9] Tracing the female half of the population presents special problems as surnames change on marriage and re-marriage.

If the law operated extensively one might expect migrants to be older and the proportion of adults to juveniles to be significantly greater with increasing distance, but the statistical evidence to support this from Northampton is ambiguous.[10] The balance of juveniles was actually slightly higher both among long-range incomers and among migrants from within five or six miles of the town than from intermediate distances, and it is difficult to isolate complex factors at work. It would seem that juveniles travelling only very short distances are more likely to have arrived unaccompanied, while juveniles from distant places of birth were more likely to have arrived as part of a family. The high proportion of juveniles arriving over long distances (Table 24) suggests that long-range incomers to Northampton certainly brought more children with them and adults arriving with families were probably older on arrival and therefore more likely to have travelled by stages. The average age of incomers from various distances does not however vary significantly, suggesting that if longer-range incomers bringing families were older on arrival this was matched by a flow of younger

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7 D. B. Grigg, 'E. G. Ravenstein and the "laws of migration" ', *Journal of Historical Geography,* **3**, 1977, p. 47.

8 C. Pooley, 'How people moved: researching the experience of mobility in the past', *Local Population Studies,* **82,** 2009, N. Goose and C. Galley, 'Local population studies – forty years on', *Local Population Studies,* **81.** 2008.

9 P. M. Tillott, 'Sources of inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 censuses', in E. A. Wrigley, (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society,* Cambridge, 1972, pp. 82-133.

10 See H. Llewellyn-Smith, 'Influx of population', in C. Booth, (ed.), *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 3, London, 1902, pp. 59-143. Llewellyn-Smith claimed that the average age of longer-range migrants to London in 1861 was indeed older.

direct incomers travelling only short distances, and the balance of short-range and long-range movement had not significantly altered within the lifetimes of most incomers.

An attempt to quantify the extent to which village migrants were intercepted and held by intermediate towns or passed on to Northampton has proved inconclusive. There are indications of a rain-shadow effect in migrants from places such as Geddington, Brigstock and Corby, whose surplus population would have found its way to intermediate large settlements such as Kettering, Wellingborough, Rothwell and Raunds and certainly did not appear to have moved on in any significantly greater numbers to Northampton. These towns were themselves substantial suppliers of migrants to Northampton, but Kettering may have intercepted individuals drawn from villages further north and east rather than acting as a conduit for them to move on to Northampton. Wellingborough may have had a similar effect, while Raunds, Ringstead, Rushden and Higham Ferrers were themselves significant shoe-making locations, and attracted incomers as replacements for locally-born individuals who had moved to Northampton. The weakness or absence of a significant sling-shot effect suggests that the overwhelming majority of migrants within the catchment area at this time moved from smaller to larger centres, and that in most cases they made one-stop moves to a nearby larger settlement with wider employment opportunities. If most short-distance incomers to Northampton moved in a single step, Ravenstein's law of stages would then apply only over larger distances.

The third law concludes that most long-distance migrants went directly to one of the great centres of industry or commerce, reflecting the greater pull of large and fast-growing cities on long-distance migrants. There was certainly an underlying drift of males from rural south to industrialising north in the nineteenth century and researchers such as Lawton, Armstrong and Hall deduced that long-range migrants were often more skilled and talented than shorter range migrants[11], a fact that is amply confirmed in Northampton. Distance and degrees of urbanisation played a part in influencing migration to Northampton, but the dominant direction of travel from smaller to larger settlements was decisive; migrants were more likely to have moved up the scale to Northampton from nearby urban parishes than from adjacent

[11] See Grigg, 'Ravenstein', 1994, p. 153.

less urbanised and industrialised parishes, but less likely to have moved down the scale to Northampton from large and distant cities compared with those moving from their surrounding counties. Shoe-workers were however a special case. The first call of Northampton's primary industry was on locally-born workers, male and female, but from the incoming workers it attracted distinctly high proportions of (industrial) shoe-workers from urban rather than rural areas and from other centres of the footwear trades and specifically from Leicester, London, Stafford and Kendal. The third law is therefore plausible but not universal. The evidence suggests a corollary saying that centralising forces were at work, enabling expanding specialised industrial centres to attract incomers with those skills to their main industry from greater than average distances.

The findings from Northampton and its surroundings do however clearly support the fourth law, stating that each current of migration creates a compensating counter-current or contra-flow. Ravenstein's own conclusions were based on studies at the county level, but the effect can be clearly seen at the local level in Northamptonshire, which also shows that contra-flows from larger settlements such as Northampton to its smaller neighbours were inherently weaker and shorter in range than corresponding inflows and declined over time. It is also evident that contra-flows out of Northampton were lower to small centres than to large ones over comparable distances, higher to smaller centres of the shoe trade than to other places of similar size and distance, but highest over very short distances where an actual overspill of population into adjacent parishes had begun.

Ravenstein's fifth law, left out of the final codification published in 1889, stating that the rural population was more migratory than the urban, may need to be refined.[12] In absolute terms the law would be true in the early years of the nineteenth century when the rural population nationally still exceeded the urban but as the balance shifted so did the sheer weight of movement. If the issue is based on volume and distances travelled the law is consistent with the fact that average distances from village to village was less than from town to town, and the first law could therefore reinforce the fifth; towns also certainly grew faster than rural areas, but the initial evidence from a sample of 40 parishes in Northamptonshire

[12] Grigg, 'Ravenstein', 1994, pp. 153-4 notes some subsequent researchers argued the opposite.

suggests that in 1871, the year on which Ravenstein based his initial conclusions, villagers were more likely to remain in their birth parishes than the urban-born, (other things especially distances being equal); certainly the evidence of migration quotients around Northampton makes it clear that for any given distance the inhabitants of urban settlements, especially those with a shoe-making tradition, were more mobile than those born in nearby villages, (at least when moving from town to town, and there is little evidence of mass movement from town to village). Higher propensities to move to Northampton from urban centres were normal within the catchment area but the reverse was true for larger cities over longer distances, from such as Leicester, Birmingham, Bristol and London itself. Page

Evidence from Northamptonshire confirms the sixth law, stating that females are more likely to migrate than males, at least within England & Wales. Ravenstein observed that in 1871 and 1881 more women were found outside their birth counties in England & Wales and the reverse was true in Scotland and Ireland. Hill's 1925 study of Essex found that females were more migratory than males over shorter distances generally.[13] That distinction certainly operated in still greater detail within the catchment area of Northampton, where male migrants predominated in the outer ring of villages and females in the inner ring where migration rates were higher. It also operated over longer distances, while males predominated among incomers from Ireland, Scotland and from distant counties, females were more numerous from the contiguous rather than distant counties. The observation does however raise the question of why the differences should have occurred. Taken together with the fact that migrants who travelled longer distances concentrated in the most prosperous parts of the town it suggests that professional and skilled workers, most of whom would inevitably have been male, given the structure of society at the time, were able to travel over longer distances to find suitable employment, while short-range migrants who were more likely to have been unskilled, were necessarily more likely to be female and more readily have been tempted to move. It is also evident that short-range and longer-range migrants differed significantly according to both gender and occupations. Age differences were less marked but juveniles from long and short distances arrived in different circumstances.

[13] A. B. Hill, 'Internal migration and its effects upon the death rates with special reference to the county of Essex', *Medical Research Council, Special Report Series, No. 95*, London, 1925, quoted by Grigg, *'Ravenstein'*, 1994, p. 154.

The seventh law stating that most migrants were adults, and families rarely migrated out of their county of birth, may need amplification. Population pyramids for Northampton confirm the universal view that most migrants were young adults; Hill established that the largest age groups of outflows from Essex in the 1850s were males aged 15-25 and females aged 10-20. But juveniles made up a substantial minority of incomers to Northampton from all origins, and apart from the very high proportions from the six parishes closest to the town, from where juveniles could have walked independently to the town in minutes, percentages were marginally higher from distant towns and cities and distant counties than from rural areas in the catchment area. Juveniles made up about 20 per cent of all the town's incomers against 23 per cent from the most distant counties. It is hard to imagine many juveniles travelling alone over longer distances and the high proportions of juveniles among long-range incomers therefore suggests that families were just as likely to migrate over longer distances as short, even if they may have taken longer to arrive.

Urban areas undeniably grew rapidly in the nineteenth century in spite of higher urban mortality rates, but the eighth law that large towns grew more by migration than natural increase has to be seen in the context of the evidence from Northampton and numerous other towns that natural increase within towns overtook net in-migration as the nineteenth century went on. Certainly the proportion of the population of Northampton born locally increased perceptibly between 1851 and 1871. The ninth law that migration increases in volume as industry expands and transport links improve also needs to be seen in context. Friedlander and Roshier calculated that rural-urban migration in England & Wales peaked in 1840.[14] The total volume of in-migration to Northampton clearly rose over time but the role of natural increase rose slightly between 1851 and 1871, at a time when the footwear industry was expanding and transport links were improving, especially by rail.

The tenth law stating that migration is primarily from agricultural areas to centres of industry and commerce is strongly supported by the evidence of faster overall growth in the mid-nineteenth century in London and in industrial counties including Yorkshire, Lancashire, Northumberland and Durham, and slower growth or decline in agricultural southern counties.

[14] See Grigg, 'Ravenstein' pp. 156-7.

At local levels the heavy and prolonged net inflows from rural villages around Northampton confirm similar trends. Movement from village to town was not the only factor at work however. Flows from and to other locations with a similar background of shoe working, including inflows from other centres, and counter-flows of Northampton-born workers employed as shoe workers in other places where the trade was also established, indicate that significant flows between urban centres were also occurring. Migration from agricultural areas may have increased in absolute terms, but as urbanisation levels rose migration rates from other industrial and urban centres became increasingly important. Urban expansion into neighbouring parishes was also well under way in many towns and cities, including Northampton, by the mid-nineteenth century.

The eleventh law, stating that the major causes of migration are economic, needs to be viewed in the light of more recent emphasis on social as well as economic motives, the greater appeal of town life as well as cash income. In practice at the national level the strength of push and pull factors fluctuated over time as well as distance. At the local level there is clear evidence that especially in rural villages rates of population change and migration flows varied from place to place for local reasons, including the attitude of local land and property owners as well as the availability of local forms of employment. But the clear association of incomers, and the up-market commercial and residential streets and commercial and professional activities makes a strong case for economic factors.

Conclusion.

The aim of this study has been to organise, analyse and synthesise the raw data contained in the manuscript censuses, rate books and directories covering the town of Northampton in the mid nineteenth century and specifically between 1841 and 1871. Three main lines of enquiry presented themselves, the first to establish how far and how fast and in what directions the town's stock of residential and commercial property grew, and to analyse the changes in the quality and value of the housing stock as measured by rateable values, and to establish the nature and scale of the building industry and the patterns of ownership in terms of large and small proprietors; to compare the urban features of nineteenth-century Northampton in terms of the quality and availability of housing and its ability to meet the needs of the expanding population and assess how far the growth of the town accorded with the urban models propounded by twentieth-century urban geographers, sociologists and economists such as Burgess, Hoyt, Conzen and Whitehand.[1]

The second major theme has been to review the social and economic development of the town in terms of the age, gender, origins and principal occupations of the population, the extent to which the inhabitants by street and district had been born locally, in villages and small towns within a catchment area of roughly 15 miles around the town, and those individuals whose lifetime journey to Northampton exceeded that range; and to match those conclusions with an estimate of the relative quality of life each category achieved, as measured by the average rateable values per head of the housing they occupied. Substantial differences can be seen in age, gender and occupations and in the housing standards of the local-born population, who were much more likely to be shoe-workers and were significantly more concentrated in the older, poorer housing, than incomers, especially those who made their way to Northampton from beyond the surrounding countryside.

The third theme has been to establish the strength of the two-way flows between Northampton and the areas from which it drew its migrating population, and the relationship between distance, population dynamics and the relative importance of the boot and shoe industries; to record the origins and status of incomers from each of the three defined groups

[1] See R. J. Dennis, *English industrial cities of the nineteenth century,* Cambridge, 1984, pp. 2-4, 81-4.

of incomers; and to measure the results against the classical yardstick for the analysis of migration patterns put forward by Ravenstein.

The findings have been used to create what is, in effect, a socio-economic atlas of Northampton and its catchment area in the mid-nineteenth century and to identify the evolutionary processes at work in Victorian towns and cities and the resulting increase in the segregation of the population and of urban functions. They confirm the relatively small scale of the construction industry and the erratic nature of the physical expansion until the final years of the study, and the correspondingly wide spread and small scale of the ownership patterns that developed. With specialisation came a strong element of segregation. The poorest parts of the town contained disproportionately high numbers of males, of children, of individuals born within the town, and of shoe makers. The central commercial core contained larger numbers of females, fewer children, the fewest shoe-makers, the most domestic servants and the highest proportions of incomers from outside the catchment area. The industrial district contained fewer children and fewer shoe makers, more incomers, more commercial and industrial buildings and warehouses than the town as a whole. These patterns have been mapped and confirmed by tables showing the extent to which the distribution of males and females, shoe-workers, and the locally-born population was gathered in uneven concentrations, the extents of which can be matched and compared.

But the circumstances in which the town and its hinterland developed do not fit easily into any of the narrow pre-defined theoretical models of urban development.[2] They indicate a town which had largely escaped the worst excesses of poverty and overcrowding that marked the evolution of most of the rapidly growing industrial cities in the UK, but was not yet fully "modern" in the sense that the urban core was still prosperous and well populated, and only the first generation of suburbs had emerged. They mark the transition towards a modern town composed of a star-shaped central core interspersed with older, poorer back-streets and courts, a mainly commercial and industrial quarter adjacent to the main transport links and two emerging up-market quarters on the northern and south-eastern outskirts and a discontinuous ring of newer but mainly working-class housing. In the process the town

[2] Dennis, *Englsh cities,* pp. 81-4, 146-8.

became increasingly specialised into commercial, industrial and residential streets. A change of pace in the rate of expansion and a move to increased specialisation and more standardised new housing around 1850 can be detected.

The transition was however by no means complete and the scale of development remained small for another 20 years. The central business district was still evolving. It contained heavy concentrations of service trades, shops and offices, hotels, as well as specialist craftsmen and professional activities. Some dispersal of its population had begun but it still supported in excess of 80 per cent of its peak population, most properties were still inhabited, and the rateable values of the core were still rising, indicating the centre was still dynamic. The surrounding zone of urban blight characteristic of larger cities and later stages of the urbanisation process had yet to emerge.

The catchment area contained around 300 different settlements ranging from small hamlets of less than 100 inhabitants to a dozen towns ranging from 1,000 to 8,000 people, including around 20 settlements, both towns and villages, where the shoe trades were also established. Northampton grew faster than the surrounding parishes and had a higher quotient of incomers; it exercised a greater pull on its surrounding parishes than the reverse flows but the strength of the links as measured by the reciprocal flows of population diminished rapidly with distance. Distance from Northampton alone provided no link with growth rates. The largest settlements in general achieved the fastest growth rates and attracted a higher proportion of incomers than smaller settlements but the links between size and growth and the scale of movements in and out of individual settlements were by no means complete. Although the degrees of pull and push and the extent to which individual settlements were self-contained can be measured, local conditions varied with local circumstances and no hard and fast rules can be established.

Analysis has however confirmed the validity of Ravenstein’s laws stating that migration flows declined with distance, that females were more migratory than males but moved over shorter distances, that urban dwellers were more migratory than village born, that much of the

migration over longer distances took place step by step rather than direct and the motives for migration were (mainly) economic or at least socio-economic in nature.

This study's strengths are the scope and detail of the subject matter on a scale not elsewhere contemplated, the definition and measurement of the emerging patterns and processes at work within the town, the effects of the move towards compulsory schooling for children under the age of 13 on the structure of employment, the links between the socio-economic characteristics contained in the census returns and the valuations in terms of rateable values by house, street and district and per head of the resident population, and the strength and direction of changes over time, as well as the identification of the catchment area and the measurement of links between the centre and individual settlements in terms of migration quotients and counter-flows.

In particular I have highlighted the value of linking censuses to rate books to calculate a rateable value per person in each street as an acceptable proxy for living standards, and a migration quotient for parishes within the catchment area to relate the number of migrants from each parish to the population of the parish at an assumed time of migration 20 years earlier.

No study, however limited in historical time and space, can ever be exhaustive. Much more could be attempted given time, including an analysis of the state of the town in the intervening census year of 1861, and a more detailed measurement of the socio-economic changes resulting from the progressive introduction of machinery into the shoe trade, resulting in the further sub-division of the production process and the increased use of female labour. The time-scale could be extended backwards in time, although the absence of rate books for the extra-parochial districts before 1843 and of detailed census records before 1841 and the lack of detail in birthplaces in the 1841 census make exact comparisons impossible. The study could also be brought forward by a few years to cover a building boom in the early 1870s, a time when numerous new suburban streets were being laid out between the Mounts and the Racecourse, interspersed by neighbourhood shoe factories, establishing a pattern of development characteristic of Northampton well into the twentieth century; the sheer scale of

the exercise and the limited survival of rate books after the mid-seventies would however impose practical limits.

More remains to be done on the relationship between social conditions, population growth and migration in different types of village and township within the catchment area. My attempts to identify and measure rain shadow and sling-shot effects on migration patterns were inconclusive, given the very different nature of the hinterlands of Kettering and Wellingborough, but could be extended and re-assessed, and there is scope for amplifying the theoretical models of Christaller and Losch by identifying the shape and location of the migration flow boundaries between Northampton and other major poles of attraction such as Leicester and Coventry and minor settlements such as Kettering and Wellingborough, Rugby and Market Harborough.

More could be done to test the theory of step-by-step migration. This study was initiated before the advents of Ancestry.com or the boom in family history over the last decade and before some of the most recent censuses became available. The latter would not have served my purpose because of the lack of rate-books for the period from 1875 onwards, but subject to the reservations inherent in the detailed recording of census data, the random decisions of myriads of individuals and the difficulties inherent in tracking the female half of the population through marriage and changes of name, the former could be applied to test some of the hypotheses, such as the importance of step-wise migration that I have only been able to infer. No attempt has been made to analyse mobility within the town, although the availability of rate books listing all heads of households at frequent intervals across the town makes such a study feasible, even if the problems associated with differentiating between individuals sharing the same surname and forename, and identifying individuals who had died or left the town rather than moved within it would inevitably affect the quality of the results. It too remains an opportunity for the next generation of researchers.

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APPENDIX

Rate Books, census material and directories consulted.

The detailed statistics mentioned in the text for individual streets and parishes within the catchment area and beyond, and used to create the figures and tables that follow have been built up, street by street and parish by parish, from a combination of contemporary parish poor rate and improvement commissioners' rate books and successive census enumerators' books, released a century after the event. The commercial data referred to in Chapter Seven and in Figures 36-47 and Table 5 have been drawn from contemporary rate books and trade directories, especially the Post Office Directory of 1869. The poor rate books cover the four parishes of St Sepulchre, St Giles, All Saints and St Peter, and the improvement commissioners' rate books the four parishes and the extra-parochial district of St Andrew, also known as the Town Part. The poor rate books are particular to each parish, the improvement commissioners' books are in two series, one apparently almost complete covering St Sepulchre, St Giles and the extra-parochial districts, the other more sporadic, covering All Saints and St Peter. In a few cases these are housed in the same book, in most cases they are separate.

Over the past fifty years the Northamptonshire County Record Office at Wootton Hall Park has pieced together an extensive collection of rate books covering the period from 1841 to 1871 that is the subject of the study. Some have come direct from the parish vestries, some from the vaults of the Guildhall and some from the archives of the Borough Library. There are gaps in the record; but by combining the two series, it is possible to find at least one rate book covering almost every calendar year from the start of the Improvement Commissioners' series in January 1844 onwards. Poor rate books covering 90 per cent of the town extend the record back at least until January 1841, when a single book covers the entire town. In many cases there are as many as six or seven books covering a single calendar year, in which case dates have been selected to coincide as closely as possible with the censuses, or to narrow the occasional gaps as closely as possible. For each district anything between 32 and 42 books have been selected.

There is a choice of 151 books covering every year at least once for St Sepulchre's parish, a largely working class district located on the north side of the town. There are 114 books covering every calendar year except 1863 and 1870 for St Giles, containing a part of the old commercial centre and extensive new developments on the east side of town. Only 46 improvement commissioners' books cover the extra-parochial district, a narrow discontinuous strip from west to east across the north side of town, which had no buildings prior to 1821 but was extensively developed in preference to adjacent parish land for cheap residential housing from the 1830s on, specifically because of the absence of poor rate taxes. Fortunately, perhaps fortuitously, the only three calendar years not represented between 1844 and 1871 are 1850, 1863 and 1870.

All Saints, initially the largest parish containing the bulk of the commercial centre and western and southern parts of the town is covered by 118 books, with only 1843 and 1862 not represented. There are no surviving parish rate books before 1846 for St Peter, by far the smallest and least populous parish containing a small part of the commercial centre and a number of older residential streets on the south-west fringe of the town, and around half a dozen books are considered by the Record Office unfit to be inspected. But providentially there are improvement commissioners' books for 1844 and 1845 and a single book attributable to the improvement commissioners listing the properties and their rateable values and the individuals responsible for paying the rates (but not the individual owners or occupiers) in all four ecclesiastical parishes in 1841. Altogether there are 110 books covering the parish of St Peter every year from 1844 to 1871.

The improvement commissioners' series covering All Saints and St Peter is much less consistent that for the other three districts, with a long gap from 1852 to 1865. The coverage of surviving books also varies considerably, but the intervals are only occasionally regular and in many cases the poor rate alone appears to have been levied up to six times a year in quick succession. It seems certain that the rate was levied more frequently in years of financial hardship than in times when the call on the rates was less. The amount of detail contained in the books varies only slightly; the poor rate books list the street names and in the early years the house numbers of all properties, their gross estimated rental and rateable values, as well as the names and forenames of the occupiers of properties and the names and more frequently the

initial of the owners of the property, the amount of rate due and the amounts paid, usually in two separate amounts, as well as any arrears collected or unpaid, and in many cases the names of the individual actually responsible for payments. The improvements commissioners' books are similar but lack this last detail.

Poor Rate and Improvement Commissioners' Rate books 1841-1871

Books available, and consulted, by parish and year.

PR = Poor rate book; ML (Miscellaneous Ledger) = Improvement rate book.

Location: Northamptonshire Record Office, Wootton Hall Park

All Saints

	Year	Date	Reference No.	Consulted
1.	1841	January	ML 2073	yes
2.	1841	13 May	PR	yes
3.	1842	7 May	PR	yes
4.	1842	6 August	PR	
5	1842	18 November	PR	
6	1844	January	ML 2074	yes
7	1844	4 January	PR	
8	1844	1 May	PR	
9	1844	16 August	PR	
10	1844	6 November	ML 2076	yes
11	1845	1 January	PR	
12	1845	10 March	PR	
13	1845	20 June	PR	yes
14	1845	July	ML 2078	
15	1845	2 July	ML 2080	
16	1845	17 October	PR	
17	1846	1 January	PR	
18	1846	7 January	ML 2081	yes
19	1846	1 July	ML 2082	
20	1846	1 July	PR	
21	1846	August	ML 2083	
22	1847	undated	ML 2084	
23	1847	17 March	ML 2085	
24	1847	1 July	PR	yes
25	1847	1 October	PR	
26	1847	1 December	PR	
27	1848	23 February	PR	
28	1848	7 April	ML 2087	

29	1848	23 May	PR	
30	1848	11 August	PR	
31	1848	17 November	PR	
32	1849	16 February	PR	
33	1849	11 May	PR	yes
34	1849	10 August	PR	
35	1849	9 November	PR	
36	1849	December	ML 2089	
37	1850	3 February	PR	
38	1850	10 June	PR	yes
39	1850	11 October	PR	
40	1851	31 January	PR	
41	1851	February	ML 2093	yes
42	1851	16 May	PR	
43	1851	July	ML 2094	
44	1851	9 September	PR	
45	1851	November	ML 2096	
46	1852	1 January	PR	
47	1852	23 April	PR	
48	1852	July	ML 2098	
49	1852	30 July	PR	yes
50	1852	26 November	PR	
51	1852	December	ML 2100	
52	1853	13 March	PR	
53	1853	12 July	PR	yes
54	1853	August	ML 2103	
55	1853	15 November	PR	
56	1853	December	ML 2105	
57	1854	17 March	PR	
58	1854	14 July	PR	yes
59	1854	17 November	PR	
60	1855	7 April	PR	
61	1855	23 June	PR	yes
62	1856	15 February	PR	
63	1856	6 May	PR	yes
64	1856	8 August	PR	
65	1857	13 March	PR	
66	1857	19 June	PR	yes
67	1857	19 September	PR	
68	1858	1 January	PR	
69	1858	30 April	PR	yes
70	1858	20 August	PR	
71	1859	25 March	PR	yes
72	1859	5 August	PR	
73	1859	25 November	PR	
74	1860	2 March	PR	
75	1860	8 June	PR	yes
76	1860	23 October	PR	

77	1861	26 January	PR	
78	1861	26 April	PR	yes
79	1861	24 August	PR	
80	1861	3 December	PR	yes
81	1863	1 May	PR	yes
82	1863	1 September	PR	
83	1863	19 September	PR	yes
84	1863	11 December	PR	
85	1864	17 June	PR	yes
86	1864	21 October	PR	
87	1865	17 March	PR	
88	1865	23 June	PR	yes
89	1865	July	ML 2127	
90	1865	14 November	PR	
91	1866	January	ML 2129	
92	1866	20 February	PR	
93	1866	22 May	PR	yes
94	1866	17 August	PR	
95	1866	20 November	PR	
96	1867	22 February	PR	
97	1867	24 May	PR	yes
98	1867	28 September	PR	
99	1867	26 December	PR	
100	1868	June	ML 2132	
101	1868	26 March	PR	
102	1868	24 June	PR	
103	1868	July	ML 2133	yes
104	1868	24 December	PR	
105	1869	January	ML 2135	
106	1869	25 March	PR	
107	1869	24 June	PR	
108	1869	July	ML 2137	yes
109	1869	24 December (2)	PR	
110	1870	January	ML 2138	
111	1870	25 March	PR	
112	1870	24 June	PR	
113	1870	July	ML 2139	yes
114	1870	29 September	PR	
115	1870	24 December	PR	
116	1871	25 March	PR	
117	1871	24 June	PR	yes
118	1871	29 September	PR	yes

St. Peter

	Year	Date	Reference No.	Consulted
1.	1841	January	ML 2073	yes
2.	1844	I January	ML 2074	yes
3.	1844	November	ML 2076	yes
4.	1845	July	ML 2078	yes
5	1845	July	ML 2080	
6	1846	January	ML 2081	yes
7	1846	July	ML 2082	
8	1846	August	ML 2083	
9	1846	14 August	PR	yes
10	1847	undated	ML 2084	
11	1847	March	ML 2085	
12	1847	16 April	PR	yes
13	1847	1 July	PR	
14	1847	15 October	PR	
15	1848	Undated	ML 2086	
16	1848	April	ML 2087	
17	1848	22 June	PR	yes
18	1848	20 October	PR	
19	1848	1 December	PR	
20	1849	1 March	PR	
21	1849	2 April	PR	
22	1849	29 June	PR	yes
23	1849	1 October	PR	
24	1849	December	ML 2098	
25	1850	1 January	PR	
26	1850	4 June	PR	yes
27	1850	11 October	PR	
28	1851	31 January	PR	
29	1851	February	ML 2093	
30	1851	16 May	PR	
31	1851	July	ML 2094	yes
32	1851	16 October	PR	
33	1851	November	ML 2096	
34	1852	1 January	PR	
35	1852	23 April	PR	
36	1852	July	ML 2098	yes
37	1852	30 July	PR	
38	1852	23 November	PR	
39	1852	December	ML 2100	
40	1853	18 February	PR	
41	1853	27 May	PR	yes
42	1853	August	ML 2103	
43	1853	9 September	PR	

44	1853	December	ML 2105	
45	1854	3 January	PR	
46	1854	2 May	PR	yes
47	1854	18 August	PR	
48	1854	15 December	PR	
49	1855	4 May	PR	yes
50	1855	20 July	PR	
51	1855	23 November	PR	
52	1856	1 April	PR	
53	1856	4 July	PR	yes
54	1856	7 November	PR	
55	1857	6 March	PR	
56	1857	5 June	PR	yes
57	1857	11 September	PR	
58	1858	1 January	PR	
59	1858	30 April	PR	yes
60	1858	14 August	PR	
61	1859	1 January	PR	
62	1859	20 May	PR	yes
63	1859	4 November	PR	
64	1860	2 March	PR	
65	1860	6 July	PR	yes
66	1860	14 December	PR	
67	1861	19 April	PR	fragile
68	1861	24 August	PR	yes
69	1861	3 December	PR	
70	1862	4 March	PR	yes
71	1862	6 June	PR	fragile
72	1862	19 September	PR	fragile
73	1863	30 January	PR	
74	1863	29 May	PR	yes
75	1863	29 September	PR	
76	1864	22 January	PR	
77	1864	6 May	PR	yes fragile
78	1864	14 October	PR	fragile
79	1865	24 January	PR	
80	1865	13 June	PR	
81	1865	July	ML 2127	
82	1865	26 November	PR	fragile
83	1866	January	ML 2129	
84	1866	20 February	PR	
85	1866	21 August	PR	yes
86	1866	21 November	PR	
87	1867	24 May	PR	yes
88	1867	28 September	PR	
89	1867	26 December	PR	
90	1868	January	ML 2132	
91	1868	26 March	PR	

92	1868	24 June	PR	yes
93	1868	July	ML 2133	
94	1868	24 September	PR	
95	1868	24 December	PR	
96	1869	January	ML 2135	
97	1869	25 March	PR	
98	1869	24 June	PR	yes
99	1869	July	ML 2137	
100	1869	24 September	PR	
101	1869	24 December	PR	
102	1870	January	ML 2138	yes
103	1870	25 March	PR	
104	1870	24 June	PR	
105	1870	July	ML 2139	
106	1870	29 September	PR	
107	1870	24 December	PR	
108	1871	25 March	PR	
109	1871	24 June	PR	yes

Extra-parochial district of St Andrew

	Year	Date	Reference No.	Consulted
1.	1844	January	ML 2075	yes
2.	1844	November	ML 2077	yes
3.	1845	July	ML 2078	
4.	1845	July	ML 2079	yes
5	1846	January	ML 2081	yes
6	1846	August	ML 2083	yes
7	1847	March	ML 2085	yes
8	1848	Undated	ML 2086	
9	1848	April	ML 2088	yes
10	1849	June	ML 2090	
11	1849	June	ML 2091	yes
12	1851	February	ML 2092	yes
13	1851	July	ML 2095	yes
14	1851	November	ML 2097	
15	1852	July	ML 2099	yes
16	1852	February	ML 2101	
17	1853	April	ML 2102	
18	1853	August	ML 2104	yes
19	1853	December	ML 2106	
20	1854	August	ML 2107	yes
21	1855	April	ML 2108	
22	1855	August	ML 2109	yes

23	1855	December	ML 2110	yes
24	1856	April	ML 2111	yes
25	1856	August	ML 2112	yes
26	1857	May	ML 2113	yes
27	1857	May	ML 2114	yes
28	1858	August	ML 2115	yes
29	1858	April	ML 2116	yes
30	1858	December	ML 2117	yes
31	1859	September	ML 2118	yes
32	1860	January	ML 2119	yes
33	1860	May	ML 2120	yes
34	1861	January	ML 2121	yes
35	1861	May	ML 2122	yes
36	1861	September	ML 2123	yes
37	1862	January	ML 2124	yes
38	1862	May	ML 2125	yes
39	1864	July	ML 2126	yes
40	1865	July	ML 2128	yes
41	1866	January	ML 2130	yes
42	1867	January	ML 2131	yes
43	1868	July	ML 2134	|yes
44	1869	January	ML 2136	yes
45	1871	January	ML 2140	yes
46	1871	July	ML 2141	yes

St Sepulchre

	Year	Date	Reference No.	Consulted
1.	1841	January	ML 2073	yes
2.	1841	12 March	PR	yes
3.	1841	13 May	PR	
4.	1841	20 August	PR	
5	1842	7 January	PR	
6	1841	16 April	PR	
7	1842	15 July	PR	yes
8	1842	12 August	PR	
9	1842	28 October	PR	
10	1843	10 February	PR	
11	1843	16 June	PR	
12	1843	27 October	PR	
13	1844	5 March	PR	
14	1844	January	ML 2075	yes
15	1844	28 June	PR	
16	1844	1 November	PR	
17	1844	November	ML 2077	yes

18	1845	18 March	PR	
19	1845	18 July	PR	
20	1845	July	ML 2079	yes
21	1845	12 December	PR	
22	1846	January	ML 2081	yes
23	1846	21 April	PR	
24	1846	14 August	PR	
25	1846	August	ML 2083	
26	1847	15 July	PR	
27	1847	March	ML 2085	yes
28	1847	1 May	PR	
29	1847	25 June	PR	
30	1847	22 October	PR	
31	1847	24 December	PR	
32	1848	undated	ML 2086	
33	1848	19 February	PR	
34	1848	April	ML 2088	yes
35	1848	14 July	PR	
36	1848	6 October	PR	
37	1848	8 December	PR	
38	1849	10 February	PR	
39	1849	June	ML 2090	
40	1849	June	ML 2091	yes
41	1849	20 April	PR	
42	1849	13 July	PR	
43	1849	11 October	PR	
44	1850	15 February	PR	yes
45	1850	24 May	PR	
46	1850	4 October	PR	
47	1850	31 December	PR	
48	1851	February	ML2092	yes
49	1851	2 May	PR	
50	1851	July	ML2095	
51	1851	22 August	PR	yes
52	1851	November	ML 2097	
53	1851	16 January	PR	
54	1852	7 May	PR	
55	1852	July	ML 2099	yes
56	1852	20 August	PR	
57	1852	December	ML 2101	
58	1853	14 January	PR	
59	1853	April	ML 2102	
60	1853	13 May	PR	
61	1853	August	ML 2104	yes
62	1853	9 September	PR	
63	1853	December	ML 2106	
64	1854	10 February	PR	
65	1854	19 May	PR	

66	1854	August	ML 2107	yes
67	1854	8 September	PR	
68	1854	22 December	PR	
69	1855	April	ML 2108	
70	1855	27 April	PR	
71	1855	August	ML 2109	yes
72	1855	10 August	PR	
73	1855	16 November	PR	
74	1855	December	ML 2110	yes
75	1856	22 February	PR	
76	1856	April	ML 2111	
77	1856	9 May	PR	
78	1856	August	ML 2112	yes
79	1856	15 August	PR	
80	1856	5 December	PR	
81	1857	6 March	PR	
82	1857	May	ML 2113	yes
83	1857	12 June	PR	
84	1857	2 October	PR	
85	1857	December	ML 2114	yes
86	1858	1 January	PR	
87	1858	April	ML 2115	yes
88	1858	9 April	PR	
89	1858	9 July	PR	
90	1858	August	ML 2116	yes
91	1858	12 November	PR	
92	1858	December	ML 2117	yes
93	1859	4 March	PR	
94	1859	24 June	PR	
95	1859	September	ML 2118	yes
96	1859	30 September	PR	
97	1860	3 January	PR	
98	1860	January	ML 2119	yes
99	1860	13 April	PR	
100	1860	May	ML 2120	yes
101	1860	27 July	PR	
102	1860	2 November	PR	
103	1861	January	ML 2121	
104	1861	May	ML 2122	yes
105	1861	10 My	May	
106	1861	September	ML 2123	yes
107	1861	6 September	PR	
108	1861	29 November	PR	
109	1862	January	ML 2124	yes
110	1862	1 March	PR	
111	1862	19 April	PR	
112	1862	May	ML 2125	
113	1862	31 October	PR	

114	1863	30January	PR	
115	1863	15 May	PR	yes
116	1863	1 August	PR	
117	1863	14 August	PR	
118	1863	13 November	PR	
119	1864	12 February	PR	
120	1864	3 June	PR	
121	1864	July	ML 2126	yes
122	1864	11 October	PR	
123	1865	17 January	PR	
124	1865	21 April	PR	
125	1865	July	ML 2128	yes
126	1865	25 August	PR	
127	1865	1 December	PR	
128	1866	January	ML 2130	yes
129	1866	2 March	PR	
130	1866	8 June	PR	
131	1866	11 September	PR	
132	1866	21 December	PR	
133	1867	January	ML 2131	yes
134	1867	28 March	PR	
135	1867	2 July	PR	
136	1867	4 October	PR	
137	1868	14 January	PR	
138	1868	14 April	PR	
139	1868	July	ML 2134	yes
140	1868	31 July	PR	
141	1868	9 November	PR	
142	1869	January	ML 2136	yes
143	1869	5 March	PR	
144	1869	24 May	PR	
145	1869	8 September	PR	
146	1869	17 December	PR	
147	1870	24 June	PR	yes
148	1870	29 September	PR	
149	1870	30 December	PR	
150	1871	January	ML 2141	yes
151	1871	24 June	PR	
152	1871	July	ML 2141	yes

St Giles

	Year	Date	Reference No.	Consulted
1.	1841	January	ML 2073	yes
2.	1841	12 March	PR	yes

3.	1841	13 May	PR	
4.	1841	20 August	PR	
5	1842	7 January	PR	
6	1842	16 April	PR	
7	1842	15 July	PR	yes
8	1842	12 August	PR	
9	1842	28 October	PR	
10	1843	10 February	PR	
11	1843	16 June	PR	yes
12	1843	27 October	PR	
13	1844	5 March	PR	
14	1844	June	ML 2075	yes
15	1844	28 July	PR	
16	1844	1 November	PR	
17	1844	November	ML 2077	yes
18	1845	18 March	PR	
19	1845	18 July	PR	
20	1845	July	ML 2079	yes
21	1845	12 December	PR	
22	1846	January	ML 2081	yes
23	1846	21 April	PR	
24	1846	10 August	PR	
25	1846	August	ML 2083	yes
26	1847	1 January	PR	
27	1847	March	ML 2085	yes
28	1847	9 April	PR	
29	1847	25 June	PR	
30	1847	15 October	PR	
31	1847	17 December	PR	
32	1848	Undated	ML 2086	
33	1848	15 February	PR	
34	1848	April	ML 2088	yes
35	1848	17 July	PR	
36	1848	4 September	PR	
37	1848	15 September	PR	
38	1848	1 December	PR	
39	1849	9 March	PR	
40	1849	5 May	PR	
41	1849	June	ML 2090	yes
42	1849	June	ML 2091	
43	1849	7 December	PR	
44	1850	19 April	PR	
45	1850	9 August	PR	
46	1850	6 December	PR	
47	1851	February	ML 2092	yes
48	1851	July	ML 2095	
49	1851	November	ML 2097	yes
50	1852	10 April	PR	

51	1852	July	ML 2099	yes
52	1852	9 July	PR	
53	1852	19 November	PR	
54	1852	December	ML 2101	
55	1853	24 March	PR	
56	1853	April	ML 2102	yes
57	1853	19 July	PR	
58	1853	29 November	PR	
59	1853	August	ML 2104	
60	1853	December	ML 2106	
61	1854	13 April	PR	
62	1854	21 July	PR	
63	1854	August	ML 2107	yes
64	1854	24 November	PR	
65	1855	7 March	PR	
66	1855	April	ML 2108	yes
67	1855	15 June	PR	
68	1855	August	ML 2109	yes
69	1855	21 September	PR	
70	1855	December	ML 2110	yes
71	1856	4 January	PR	
72	1856	April	ML 2111	yes
73	1856	18 July	PR	
74	1856	August	ML 2112	yes
75	1856	31 October	PR	
76	1857	30 January	PR	
77	1857	May	ML 2113	yes
78	1857	15 May	PR	
79	1857	22 September	PR	yes
80	1857	December	ML 2114	yes
81	1858	April	ML 2114	yes
82	1858	August	ML 2116	yes
83	1858	December	ML 2117	yes
84	1859	11 February	PR	
85	1859	27 May	PR	
86	1859	December	ML 2118	yes
87	1860	January	ML 2119	yes
88	1860	24 February	PR	
89	1860	May	ML 2120	yes
90	1860	22 June	PR	
91	1860	7 December	PR	
92	1861	January	ML 2121	yes
93	1861	15 March	PR	
94	1861	May	ML 2122	yes
95	1861	September	Ml 2123	yes
96	1861	11 October	PR	
97	1862	17 January	PR	
98	1862	January	ML 2124	yes

99	1862	28 March	PR	
100	1862	May	ML 2125	yes
101	1862	21 June	PR	
102	1864	11 March	PR	unfit
103	1864	July	ML 2126	yes
104	1865	14 July	PR	
105	1865	July	ML 2128	yes
106	1866	19 January	PR	
107	1866	January	ML 2130	yes
108	1866	27 April	PR	
109	1866	14 August	PR	
110	1867	January	ML 2131	yes
111	1868	July	ML 2134	yes
112	1869	January	ML 2136	yes
113	1871	January	ML 2140	yes
114	1871	July	ML 2141	yes

Published Census Summaries Consulted (NPL)

Population: Comparative Account of the Population of Great Britain in the years 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831. pp. 21-3, 29-33, 184-190. London, 1831.

1841 Census Report: Abstract of the Answers and Returns. London, 1844.

1851 Census of England and Wales. Vol. 3. Table of the Population and Houses; Division III, South Midlands Division: 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831 1841 and 1851. pp. 24-7, 38-53. London, 1851.

1861 Census Report\: Abstract of the Answers and Returns. London, 1863.

1871 Census of England and Wales: Vol. 3. Tables of the Area, Houses and Inhabitants in 1871: Division III, South Midland Counties, pp. 44-50, 92-9. London, 1873.

Census: Enumerators' Books

Date	Coverage	Bundle	Source
6 June 1841	Northamptonshire Hundreds	HO 107-798-811, 813	S&N
	Northampton All Saints	HO 107-814 a	S&N
	Northampton St. Giles	HO 107- 814 a	S&N
	Northampton St. Peter	HO 107- 814 b	S&N
	Northampton St. Sepulchre	HO 107- 814 b	S&N
	Northampton Extra-parochial	HO 107- 814 b	S&N
30 March 1851	Northants Registration Dists.	HO 107- 1735-9a, 1740	S&N
	Northampton St. Giles	HO 107- 1739 a	S&N

	Northampton Extra-parochial	HO 107- 1739 a,b,c	S&N
	Northampton St. Sepulchre	HO 107- 1739 b,c	S&N
	Northampton All Saints	HO 107-1740 a,b	S&N
	Northampton St. Peter	HO-107- 1740 b	S&N
7 April 1861	Northants Registration Dists	RG 9- 924-33, 941-62	S&N
	Northampton St. Giles	RG 9- 934	S&N
	Northampton St. Sepulchre	RG 9- 935-6	S&N
	Northampton Extra-parochial	RG 9- 936-7	S&N
	Northampton All Saints	RG 9- 938-40	S&N
	Northampton St. Peter	RG 9- 941	S&N
2 April 1871	Northants Registration Dists	RG10-1467-79,1490-1501	S&N
	Northampton St. Giles	RG10- 1480-5	S&N
	Northampton St. Sepulchre	RG10- 1481- 4	S&N
	Northampton Extra-parochial	RG10- 1483- 5	S&N
	Northampton All Saints	RG10- 1487-8	S&N
	Northampton St. Peter	RG10- 1488	S&N

Directories Consulted (NRO).

Date	Publisher	Pages	Location
1830	Pigot & Co	136-43	NRO
1841	Pigot & Co	13-22	NRO
1847	Kelly & Co	2096-103	NRO
1854	Kelly & Co	457-67	NRO
1862	Slater & Co	35-59	NRO
1869	Post Office	81-101, 177-225	NRO

Locations:
S&N = S&N British Data Archive Ltd.
NRO = Northamptonshire Record Office
NPL = Northampton Public Library

Fig 1. Plan of the Enclosure Allotments of 1778, showing field boundaries and roads.

Source: Northamptonshire Record Office

Figure 2. Roper and Cole's map, 1807 (Northampton Public Library)

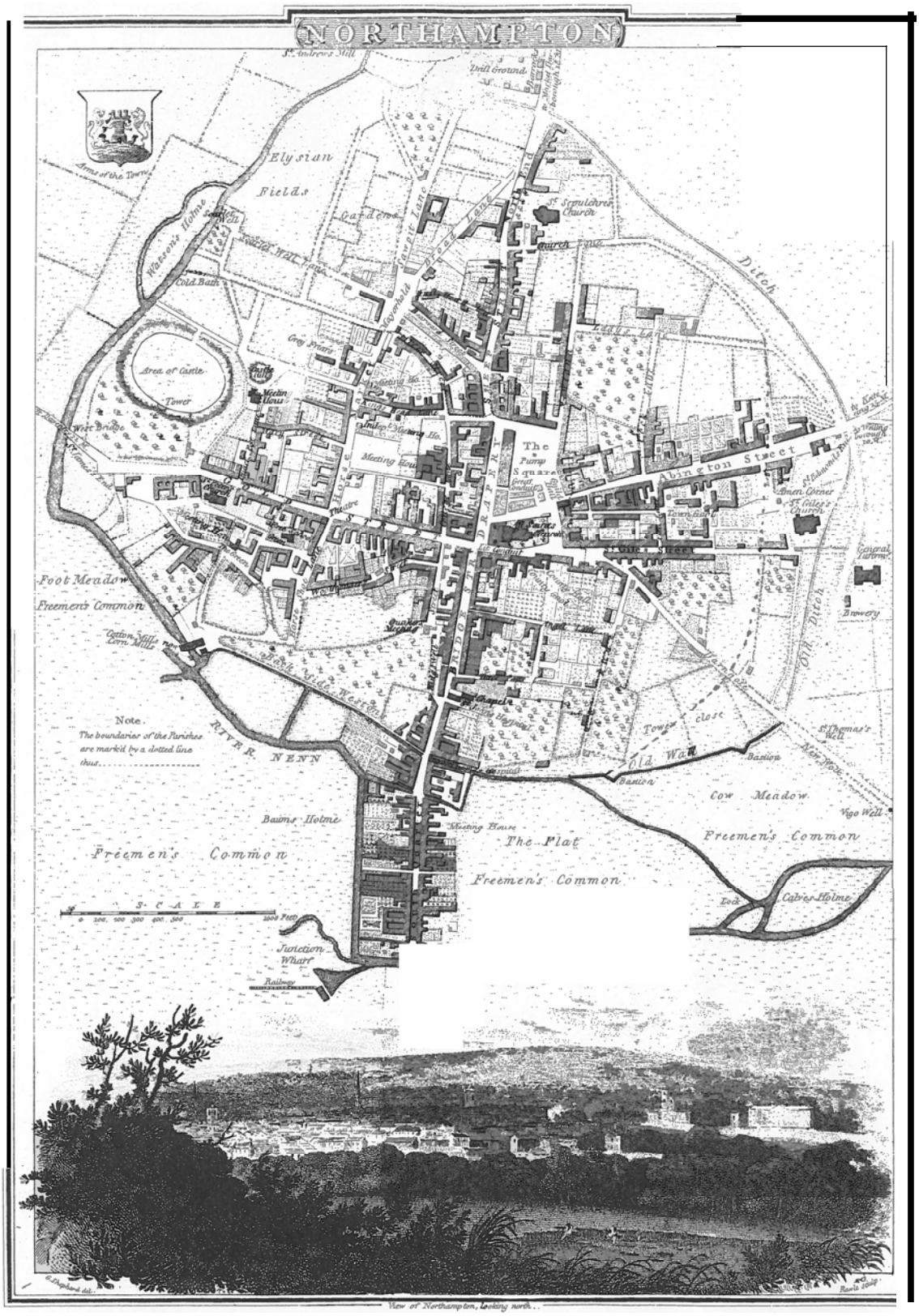

NORTHAMPTON
Elysian Fields
Foot Meadow
Freemens Common
RIVER NENN
Baums Holme
Freemen's Common
The Flat
Freemen's Common
Cow Meadow
Freemen's Common
Cabies Holme
Albington Street
Old Ditch
Ditch
Note
The boundaries of the Parishes are markid by a dotted line thus
Juction Wharf
Railway
Old Wall
Bastion
Bastion
Tower close
Brewery
Area of Castle
Tower
Cold Bath
Drill Ground
Meeting House
Meeting House
Meeting House

Figure 3. Law's map, 1847 (Northampton Public Library)

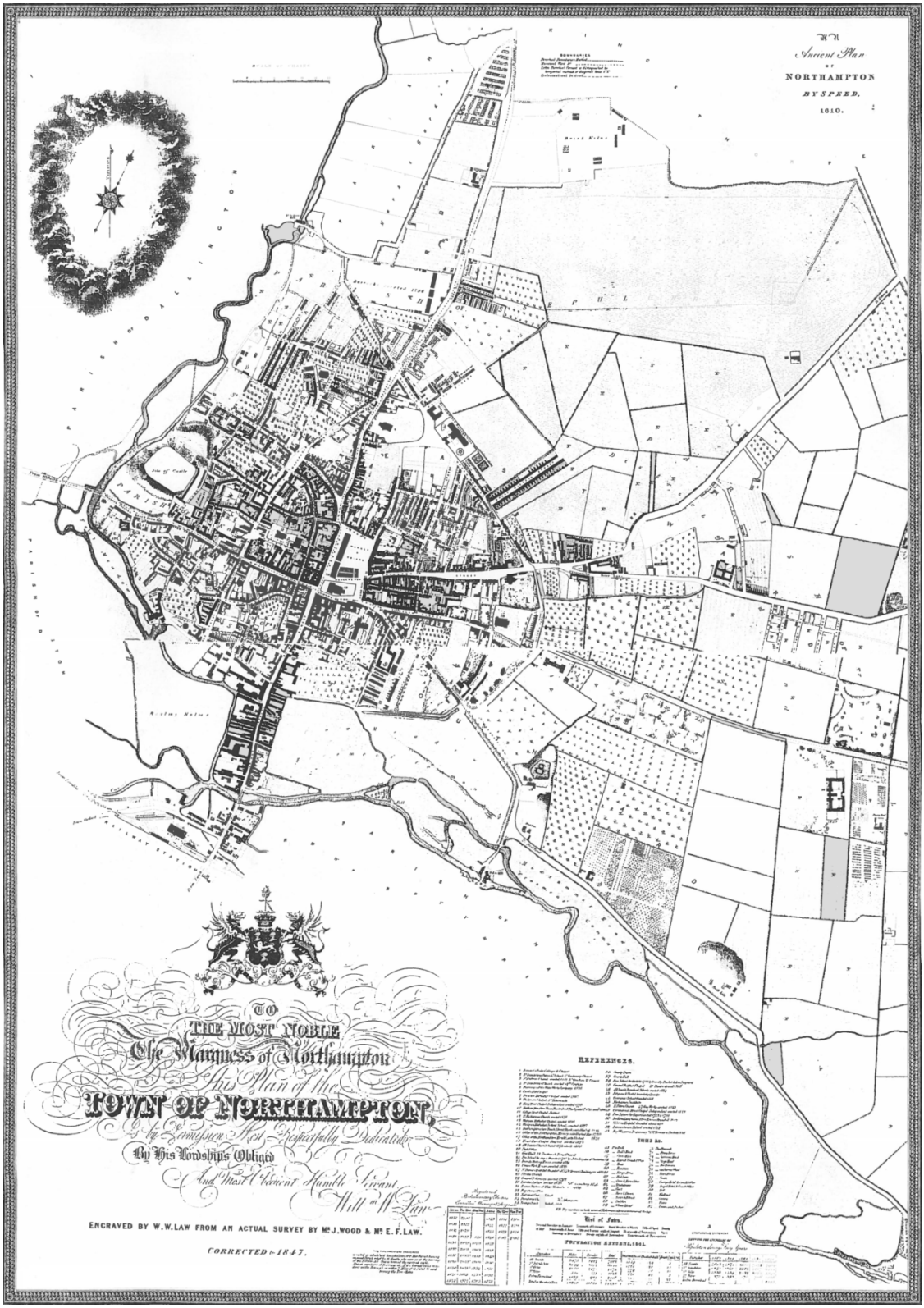


Figure 4a. Street names in Northampton (west), 1871

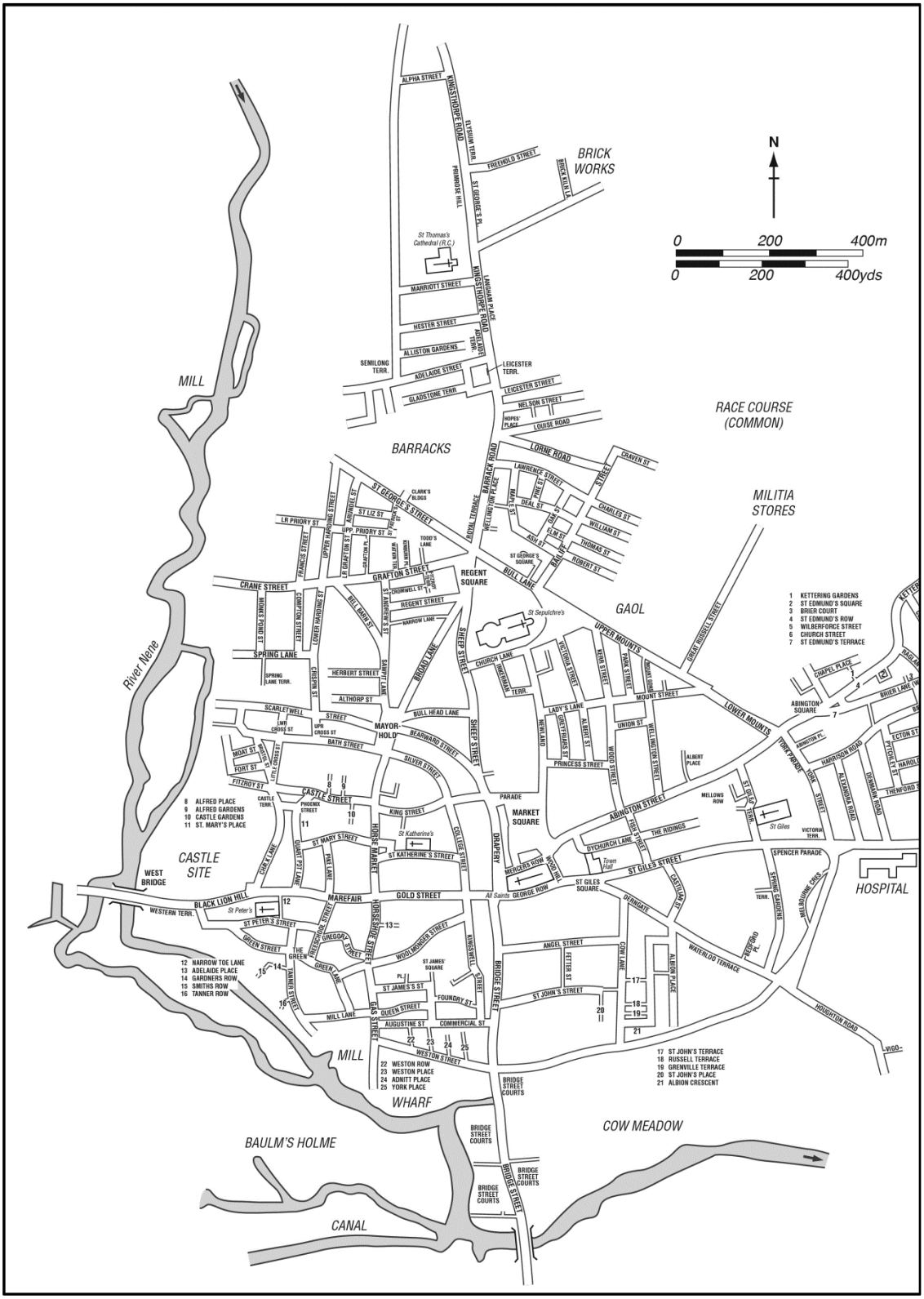


Figure 4b. Street names in Northampton (east), 1871

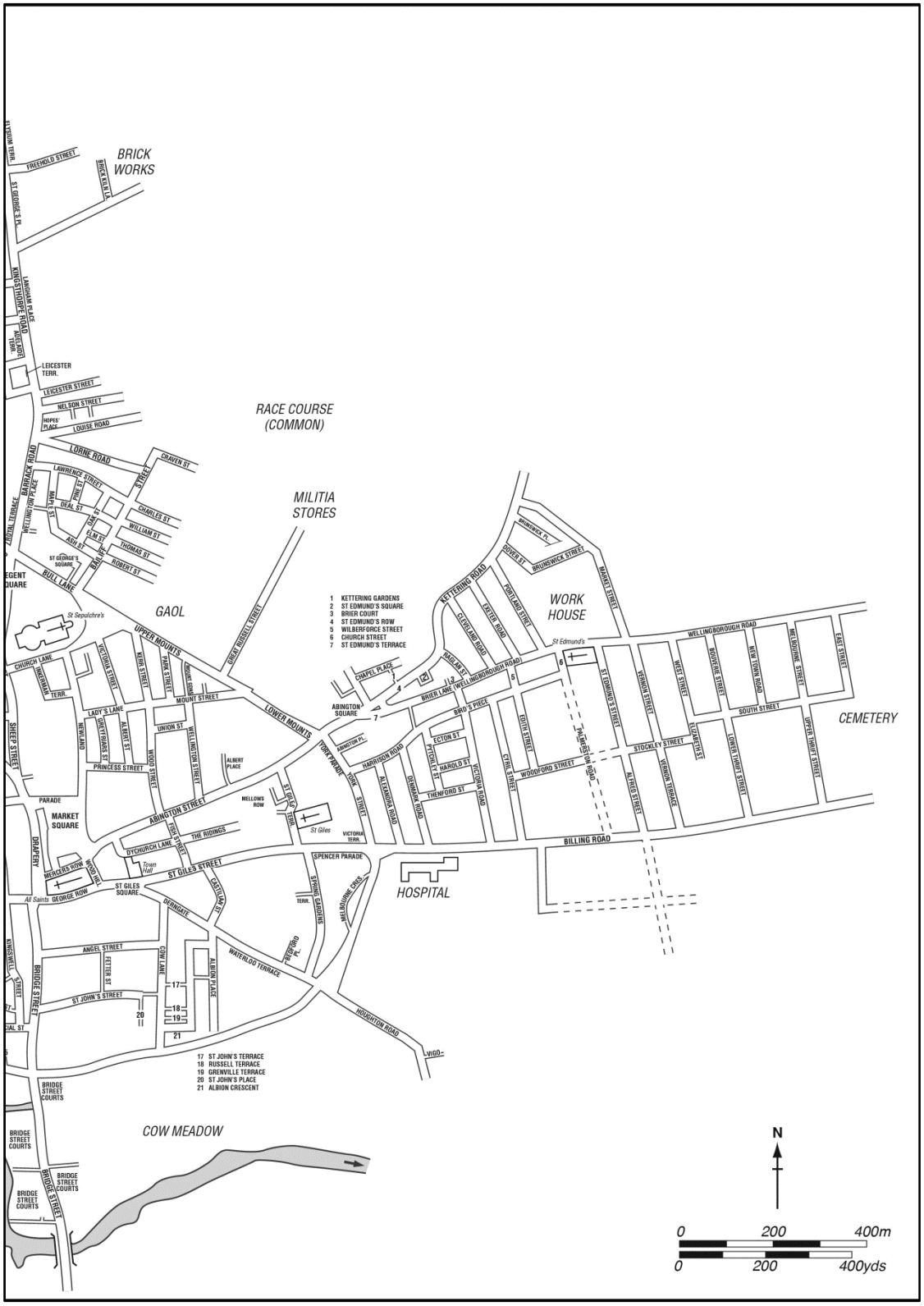
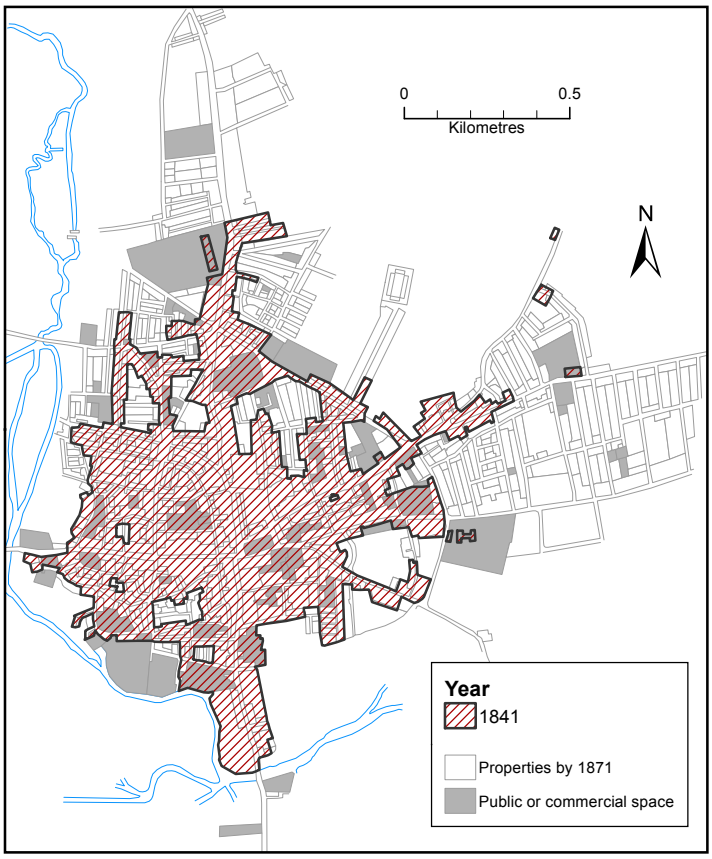
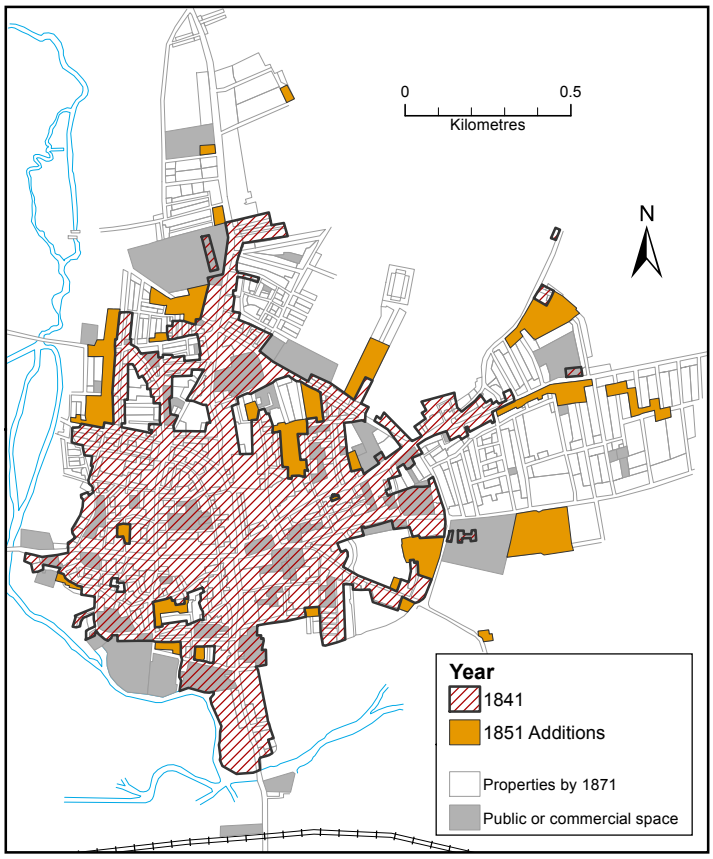


Figure 5. Growth of Northampton between 1841 and 1871

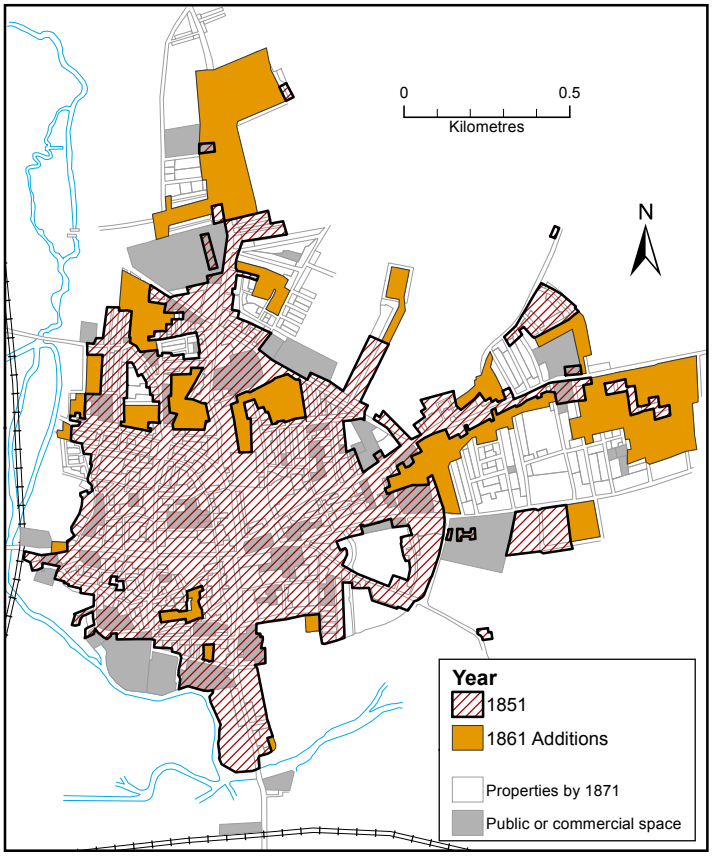
1841



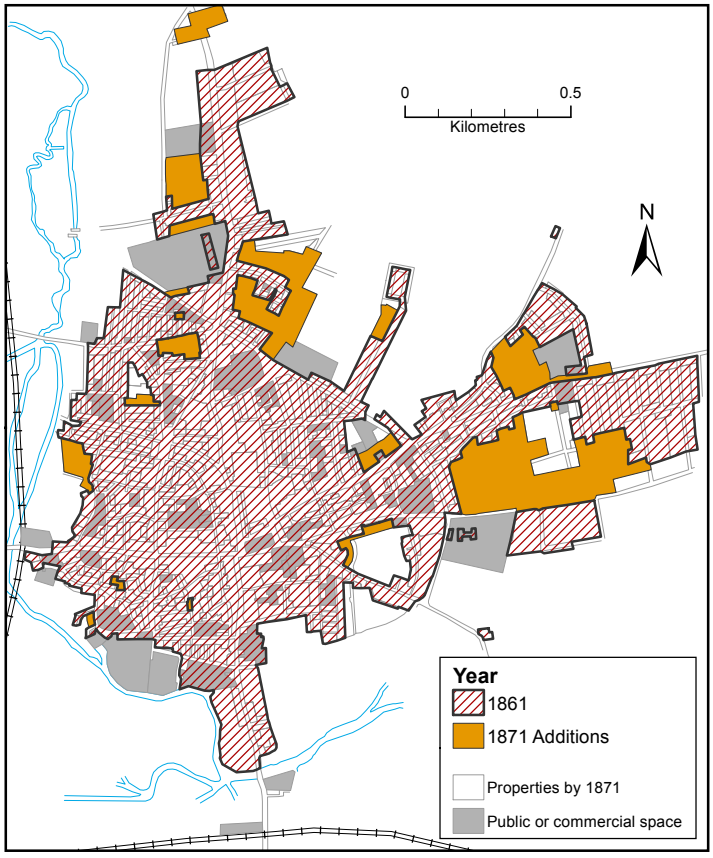
1851



1861

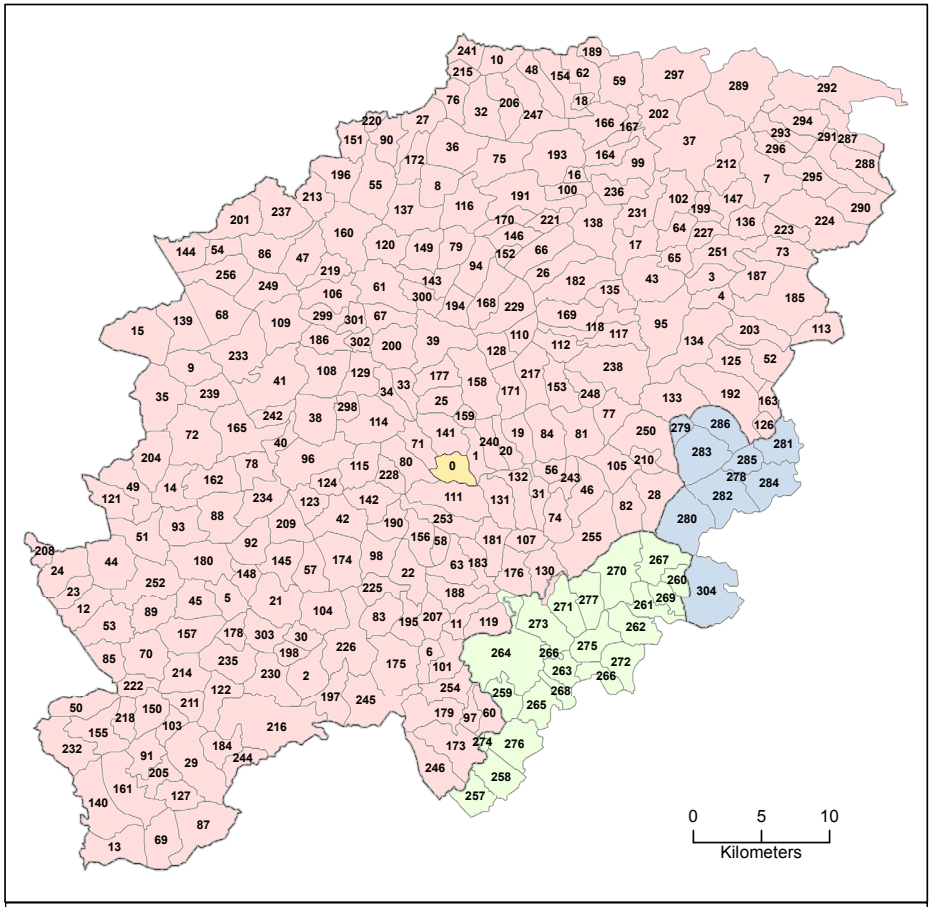


1871



Source: Rate books

Figure 6. Parishes in the catchment area, 1871, source: Phillimore's Atlas and Parish Index



0. Northampton
1. Abington
2. Abthorpe
3. Great Addington
4. Little Addington
5. Adstone
6. Alderton
7. Aldwinkle st Peter
8. Arthingworth
9. Ashby St Ledgers
10. Ashley
11. Ashton
12. Aston le Walls
13. Aynho
14. Badby
15. Barby
16. Barford
17. Barton Seagrave
18. Beanfield Lawas
19. Great Billing
20. Little Billing
21. Blakesley
22. Blisworth
23. Lower Boddington
24. Upper Boddington
25. Boughton
26. Broughton
27. Little Bowden
28. Bozeat
29. Brackley
30. Bradden
31. Brafield
32. Brampton
33. Chapel Brampton
34. Church Brampton
35. Braunston
36. Braybrooke
37. Brigstock
38. Brington
39. Brixworth
40. Brockhall
41. Long Buckby
42. Bugbrooke
43. Burton Latimer
44. Byfield
45. Canons Ashby
46. Castle Ashby
47. Cold Ashby
48. East Carlton
49. Catesby
50. Chacombe
51. Charwelton
52. Chelveston
53. Chipping Warden
54. Claycoton
55. Clipston
56. Cogenhoe
57. Cold Higham
58. Collingtree
59. Corby
60. Cosgrove
61. Cottesbrooke
62. Cottingham
63. Courteenhall
64. Cranford St Andrew
65. Cranford St John
66. Cransley
67. Creaton
68. Crick
69. Croughton
70. Culworth
71. Dallington
72. Daventry
73. Denford
74. Denton
75. Desborough
76. Dingley
77. Dreat Doddington
78. Dodford
79. Draughton
80. Duston
81. Earls Barton
82. Easton Maudit
83. Easton Neston
84. Ecton
85. Edgcote
86. Elkington
87. Evenley
88. Everdon
89. Eydon
90. East Farndon
91. Farthinghoe
92. Farthingstone
93. Fawsley
94. Faxton
95. Finedon
96. Flore
97. Furtho
98. Gayton
99. Cheddington
100. Glendon
101. Grafton Regis
102. Grafton Underwood
103. Greatworth
104. Greens Norton
105. Grendon
106. Guilsborough
107. Hackleton
108. East Haddon
109. West Haddon
110. Hannington
111. Hardingstone
112. Hardwick
113. Hargrave
114. Harlestone
115. Harpole
116. Harrington
117. Great Harrowden
118. Little Harrowden
119. Hartwell
120. Haselbech
121. Hellidon
122. Helmdon
123. Nether Heyford
124. Upper Heyford
125. Higham Ferrers
126. Higham Park
127. Hinton in the Hedges
128. Holcot
129. Holdenby
130. Horton
131. Great Houghton
132. Little Houghton
133. Irchester
134. Irthlingborough
135. Isham
136. Islip
137. Kelmarsh
138. Kettering
139. Kilsby
140. King's Sutton
141. Kingsthorpe
142. Kislingbury
143. Lamport
144. Lilbourne
145. Litchborough
146. Loddington
147. Lowick
148. Maidford
149. Maidwell
150. Marston St Lawrence
151. Marston Thrussell
152. Mawsely
153. Mears Ashby
154. Middleton
155. Middleton Cheney
156. Milton Malsor
157. Moreton Pinkney
158. Moulton
159. Moulton Park
160. Naseby
161. Newbottle
162. Newnham
163. Newton Bromswold
164. Newton
165. Norton
166. Great Oakley
167. Little Oakley
168. Old
169. Orlingbury
170. Orton
171. Overstone
172. Great Oxendon
173. Passenham
174. Pattishall
175. Paulerspury
176. Piddington
177. Pitsford
178. Plumpton
179. Potterspury
180. Preston Capes
181. Preston Deanery
182. Pytchley
183. Quinton
184. Radstone
185. Raunds
186. Ravensthorpe
187. Ringstead
188. Roade
189. Rockingham
190. Rothersthorpe
191. Rothwell
192. Rushden
193. Rushton
194. Scaldwell
195. Shutlanger
196. Sibbertoft
197. Silverstone
198. Slapton
199. Slipton
200. Spratton
201. Stanford
202. Stanion
203. Stanwick
204. Staverton
205. Steane
206. Stoke Albany
207. Stoke Bruerne
208. Priors Hardwick
209. Stowe Nine Churches
210. Strixton
211. Stuchbury
212. Sudborough
213. Sulby
214. Sulgrave
215. Sutton Bassett
216. Syresham
217. Sywell
218. Thenford
219. Thornby
220. Thorpe Lubenham
221. Thorpe Malsor
222. Thorpe Mandeville
223. Thrapston
224. Titchmarsh
225. Tiffield
226. Towcester
227. Twywell
228. Upton
229. Walgrave
230. Wappenham
231. Warkton
232. Warkton
233. Watford
234. Weedon Beck
235. Weedon Lois
236. Weekley
237. Welford
238. Wellingborough
239. Welton
240. Weston Favell
241. Weston by Welland
242. Whilton
243. Whiston
244. Whitfield
245. Whittlebury
246. Wicken
247. Wilbarston
248. Wilby
249. Winwick
250. Wollaston
251. Woodford
252. Woodford Halse
253. Wooton
254. Yardley Gobion
255. Yardley Hastings
256. Yelvertoft
257. Beachampton
258. Calverton
259. Castlethorpe
260. Cold Brayfield
261. Clifton Reynes
262. Emberton
263. Gayhurst
264. Hanslope
265. Haversham
266. Lathbury
267. Lavendon
268. Little Linford
269. Newton Blossomfield
270. Olney
271. Ravenstone
272. Sherrington
273. Stoke Goldington
274. Stoney Stratford
275. Tyringham
276. Wolverton
277. Weston Underwood
278. Colworth
279. Farndish
280. Harrold
281. Knotting
282. Odell
283. Poddington
284. Sharnbrook
285. Souldrop
286. Wymington
287. Barnwell St Andrew
288. Barnwell All Saints
289. Benefield
290. Clapton
291. Lilford
292. Oundle
293. Pilton
294. Stoke Doyle
295. Thorpe Achurch
296. Wadenhoe
297. Great Weldon
298. Althorp
299. Coton
300. Hanging Houghton
301. Hollowell
302. Teeton
303. Woodend
304. Turvey

Figure 7a. Percentage of population employed in shoe trades in 1851. Source: census 1851

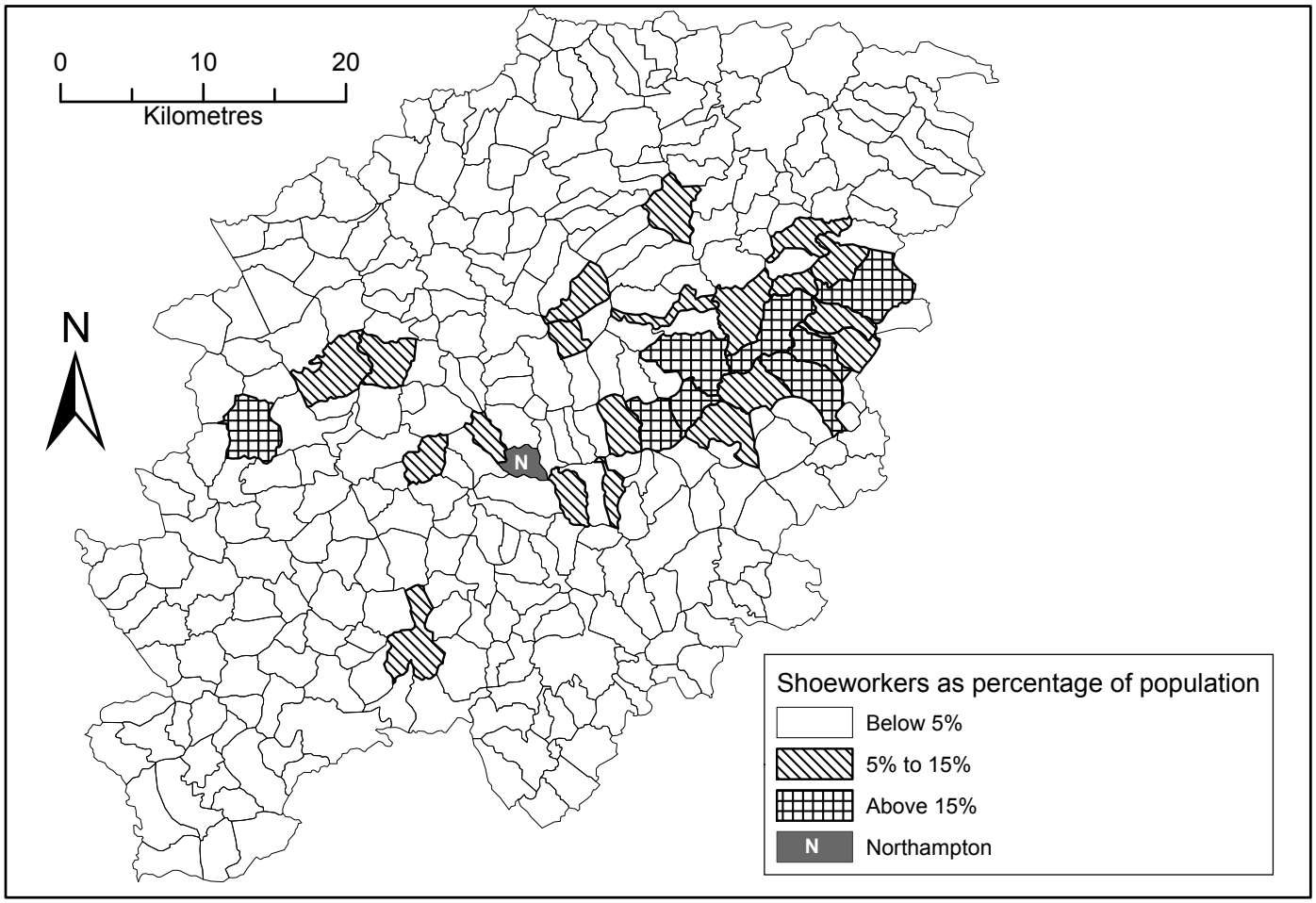


Figure 7b. Percentage of population employed in shoe trades in 1871. Source: census1871

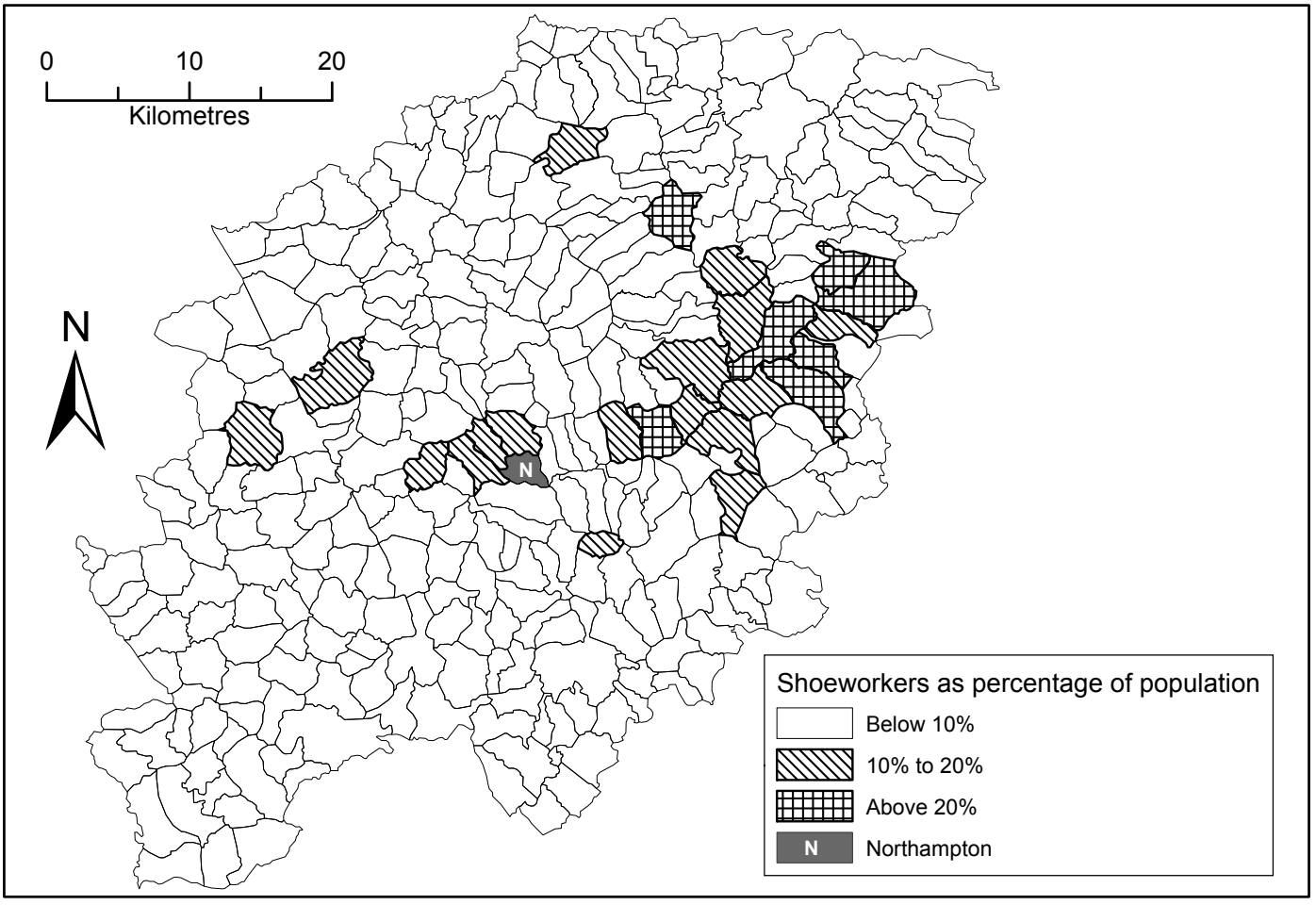
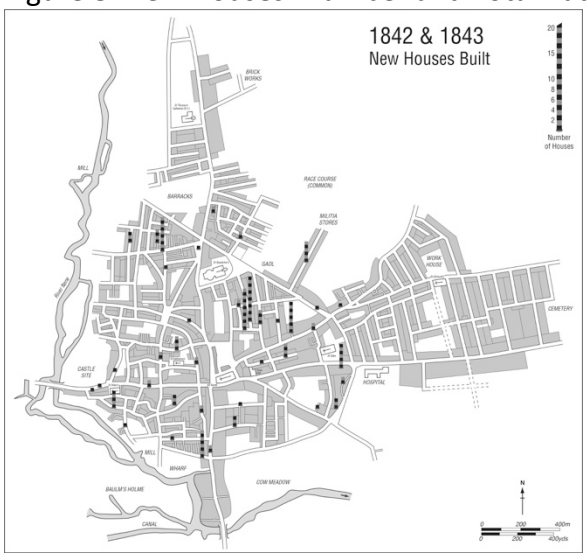
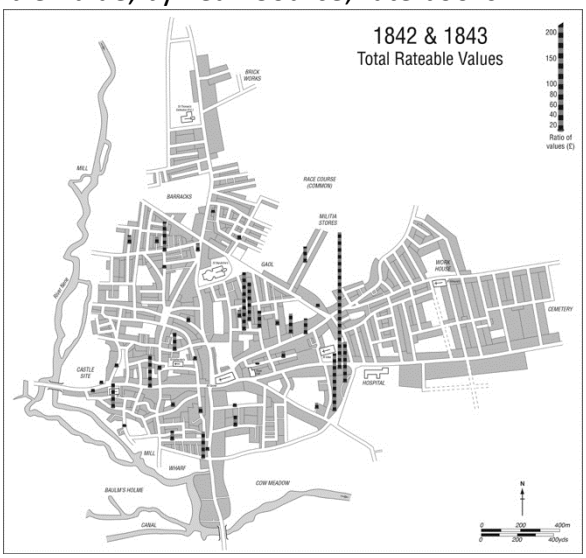
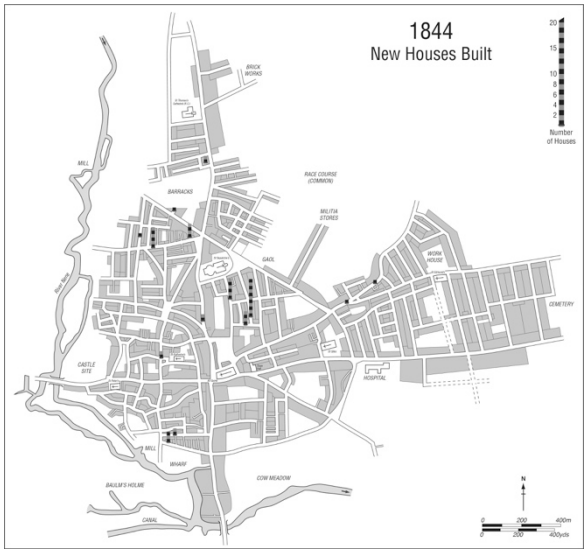
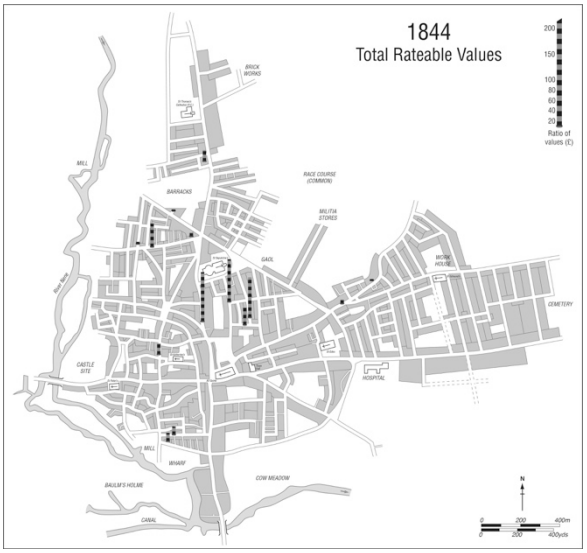


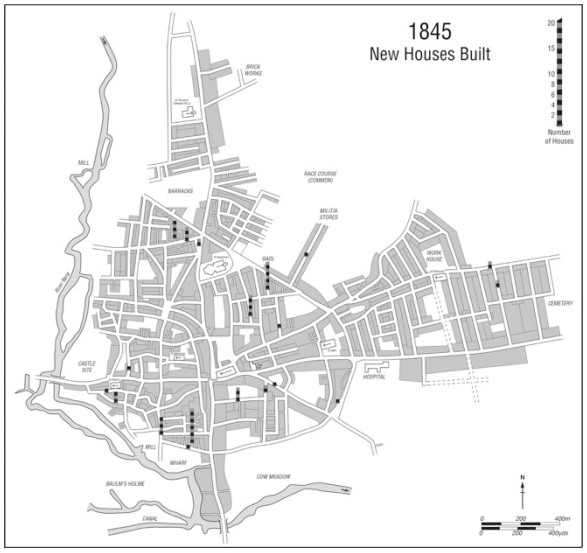
Figure 8. New Houses: Number and Total Rateable Value, by Year. Source; rate books

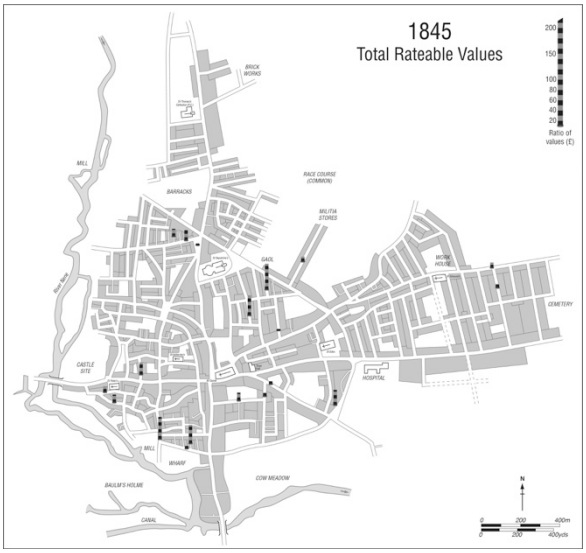












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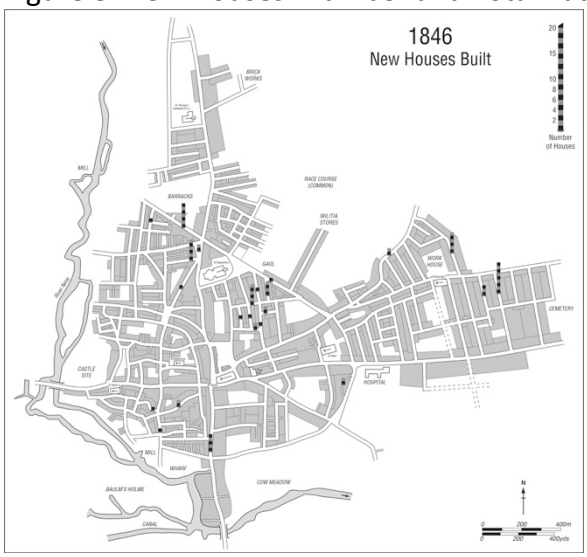

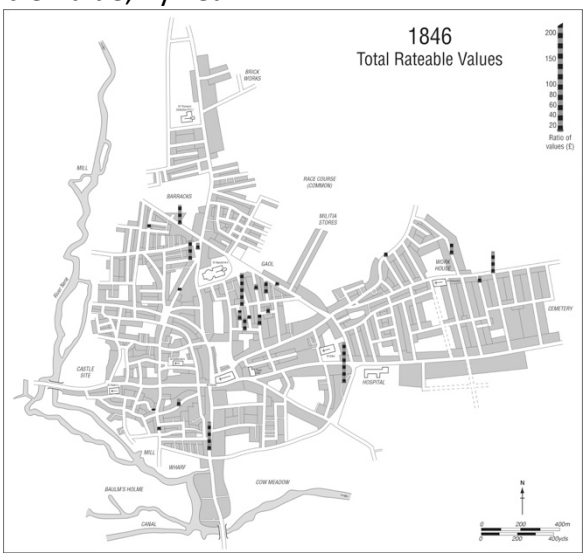

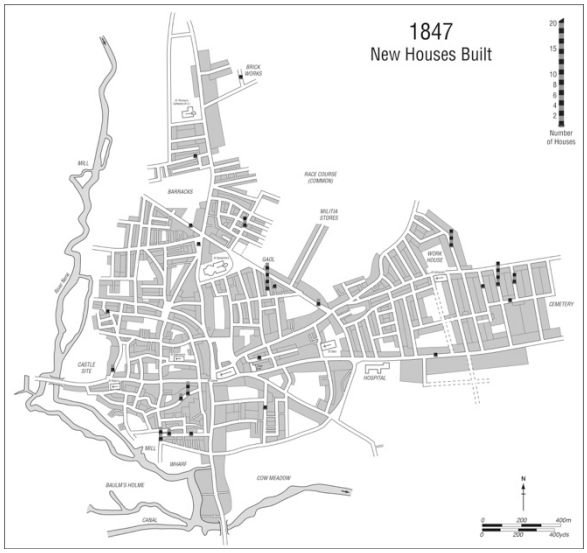

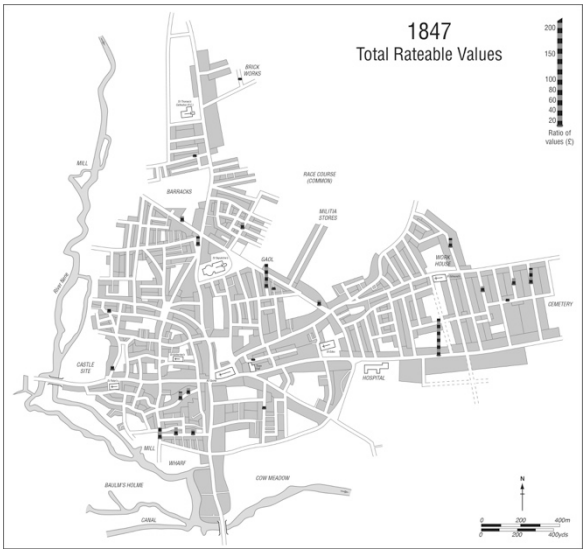

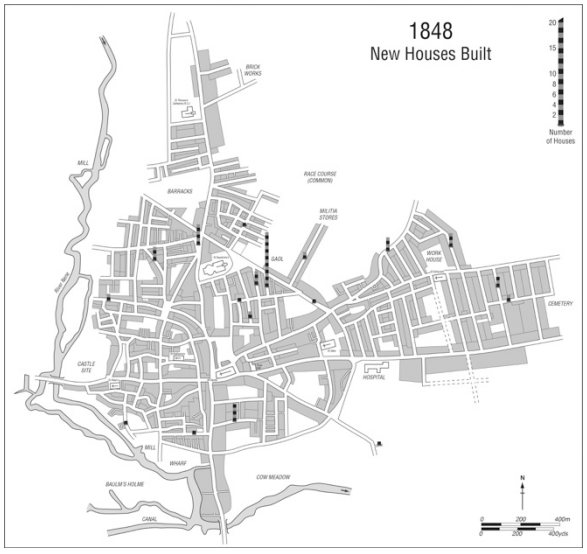

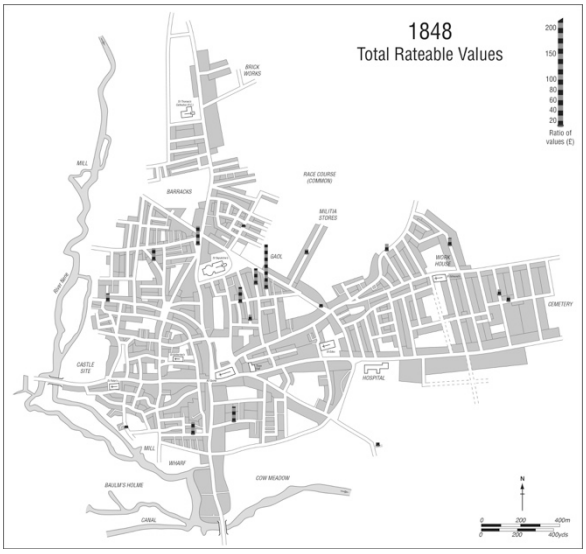

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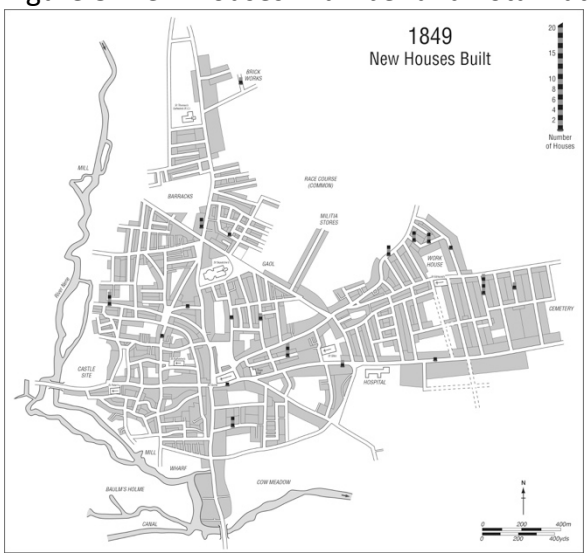

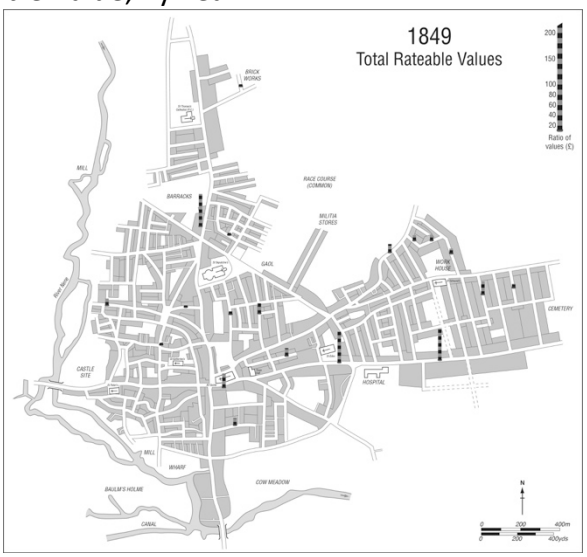

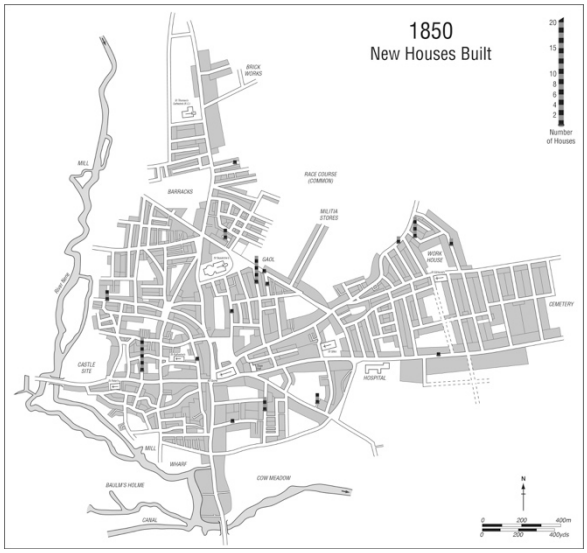

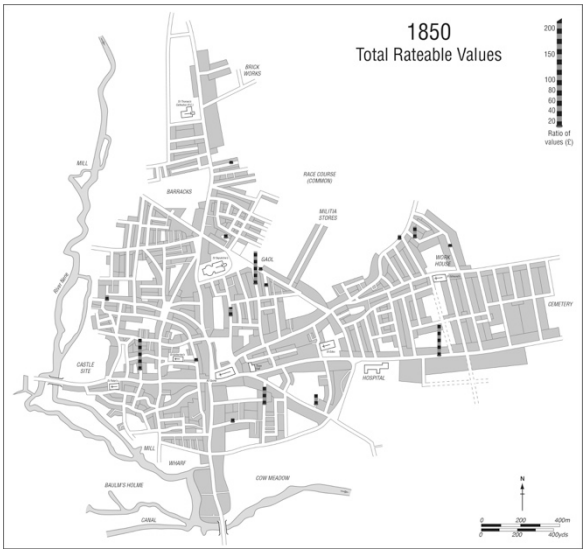

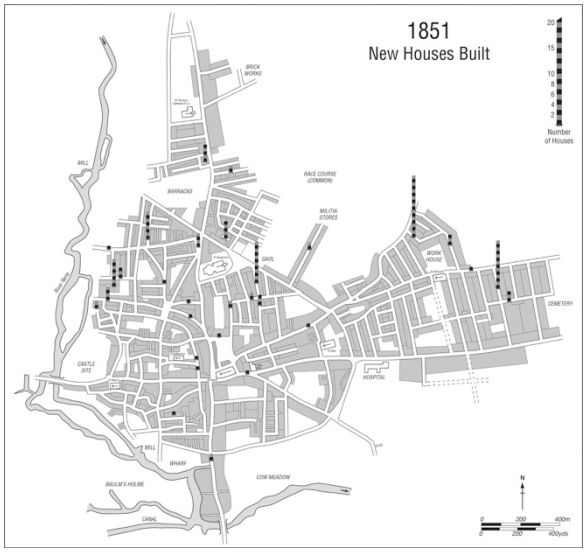

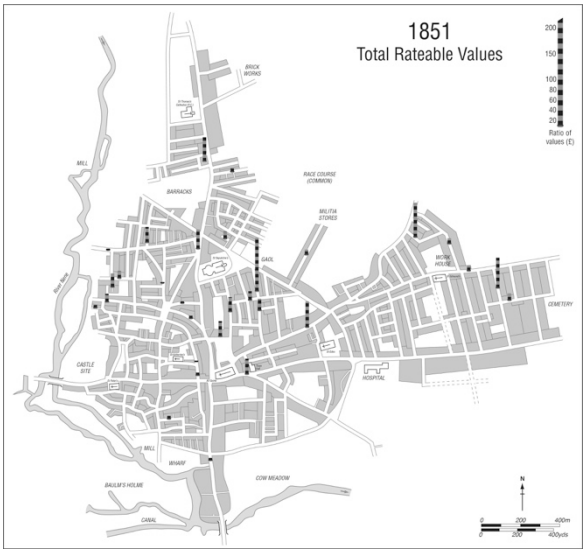

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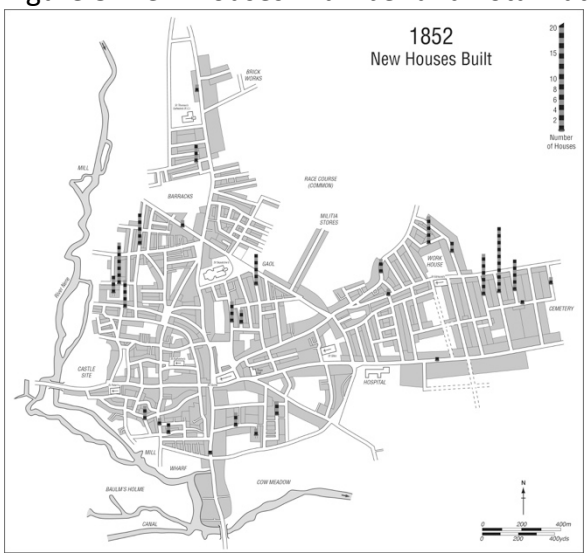

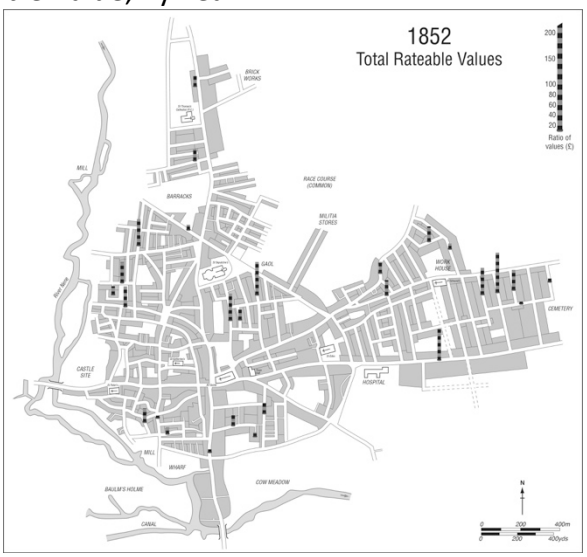

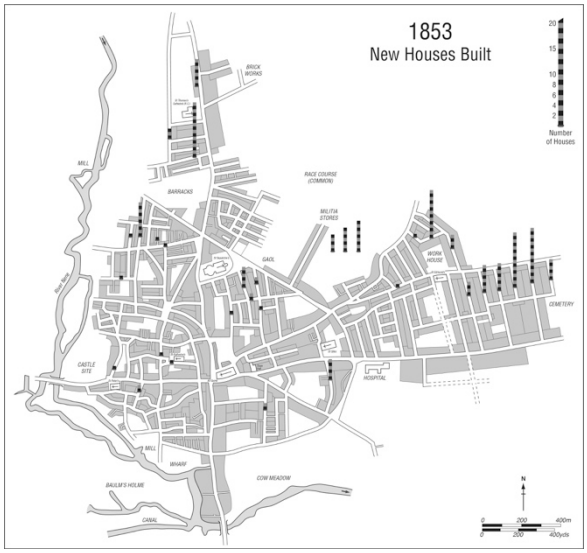

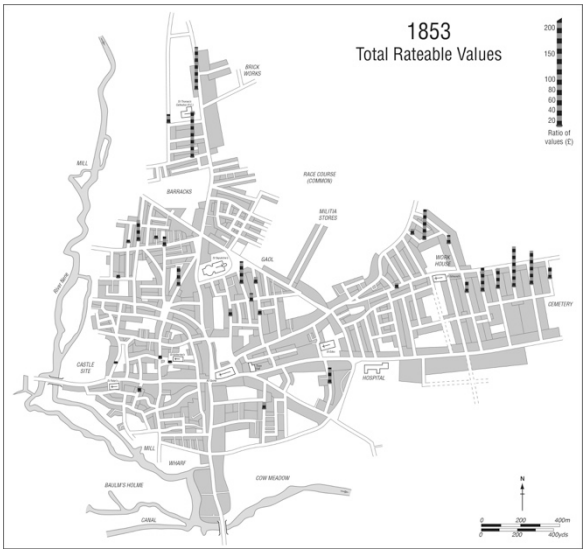

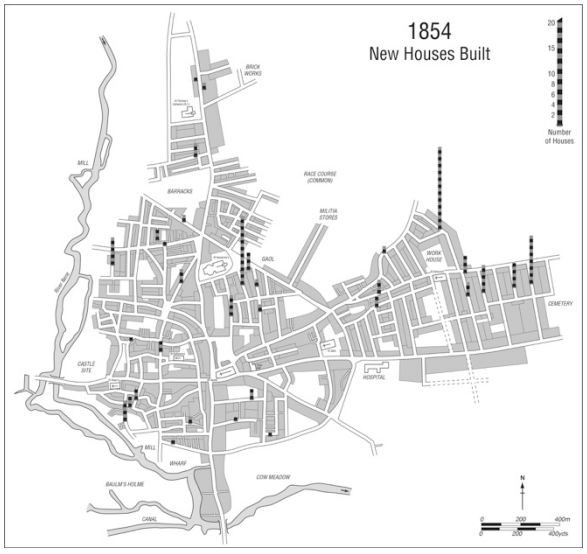

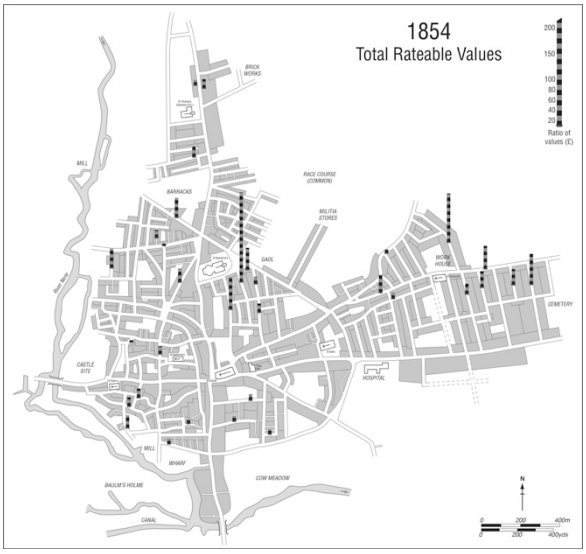

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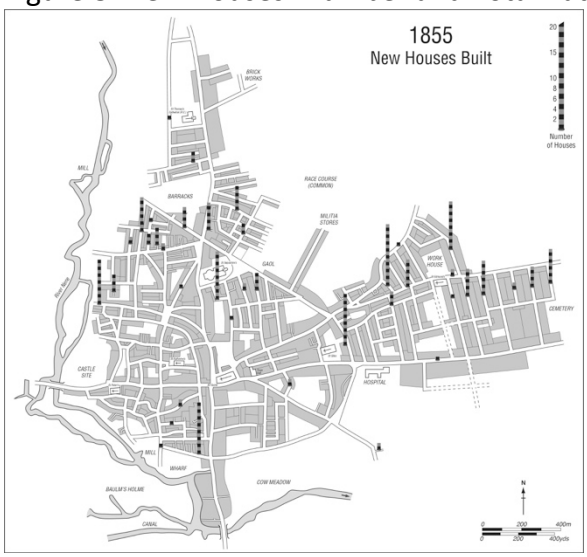
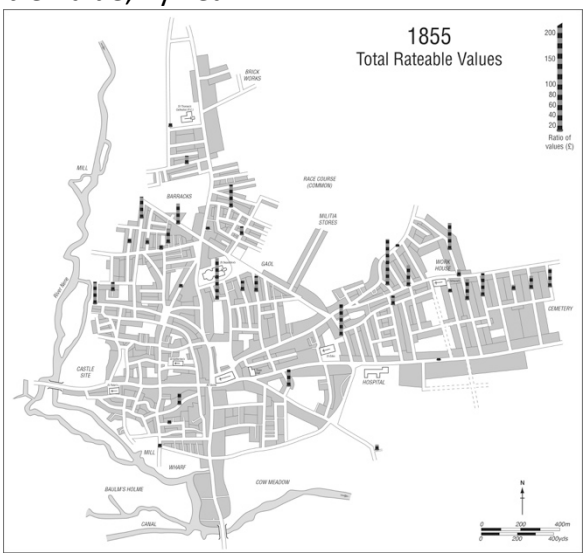
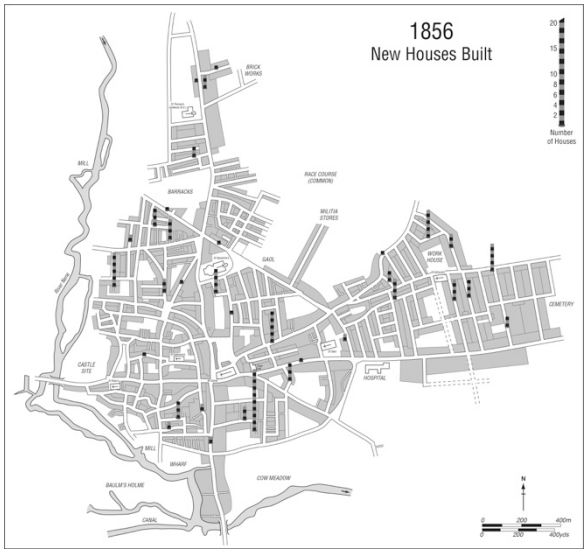
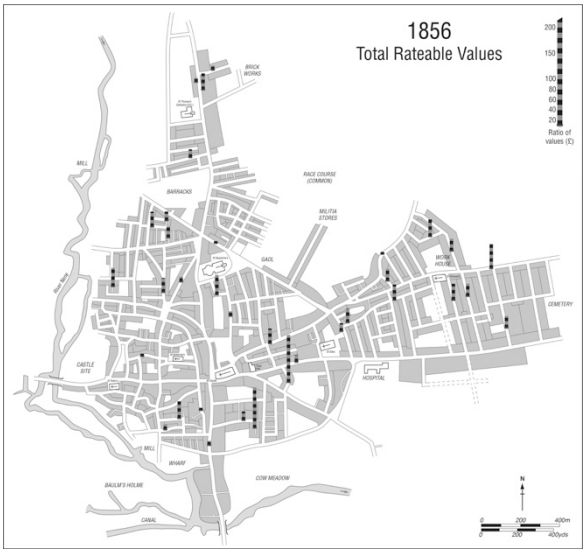
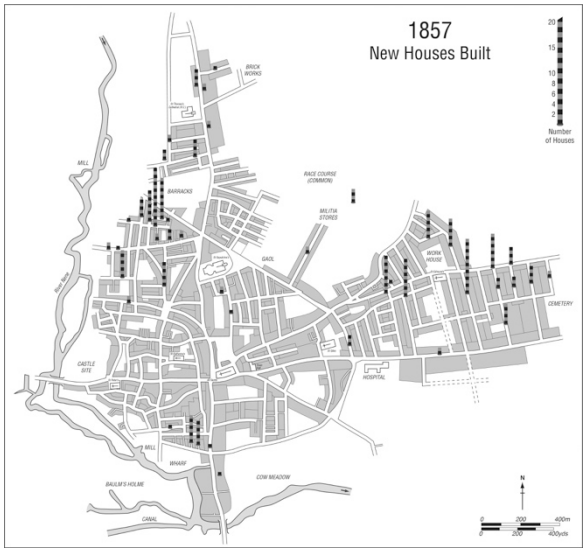










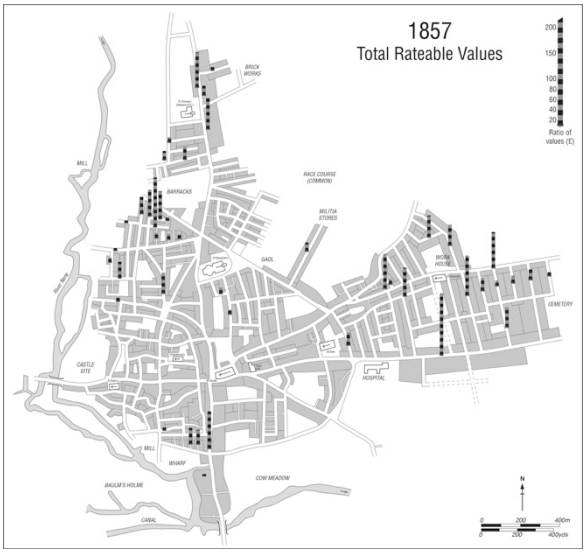
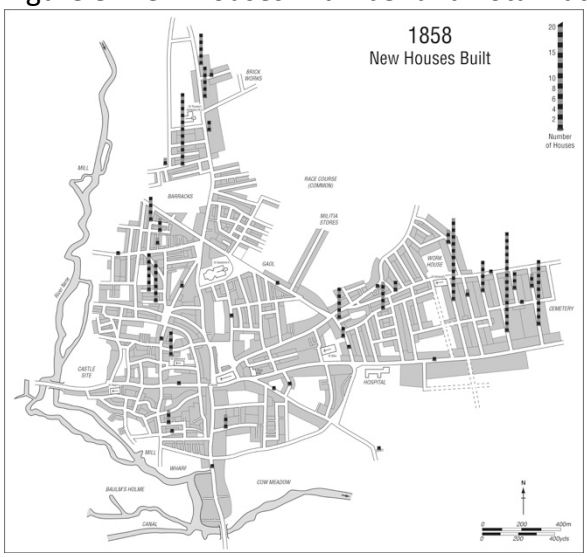
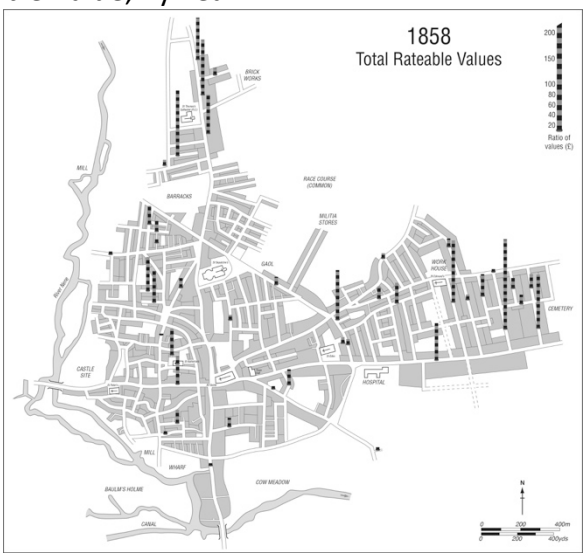
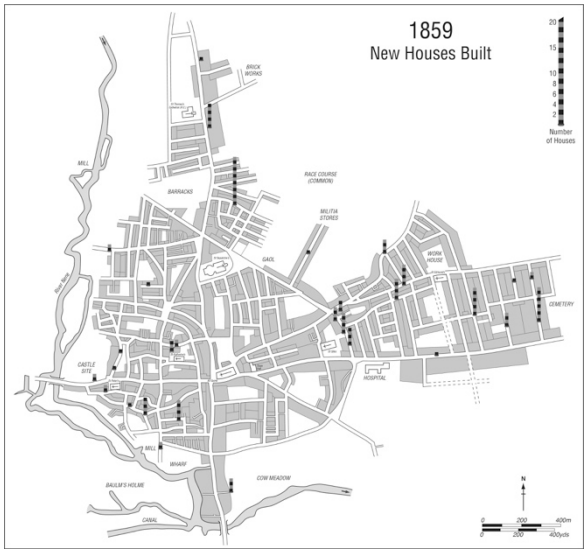
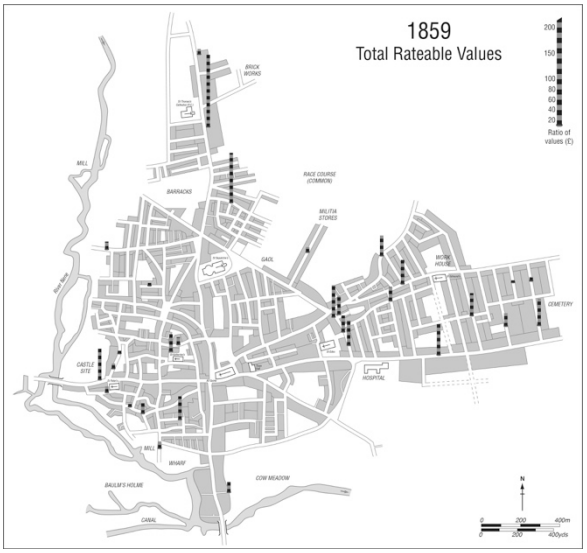


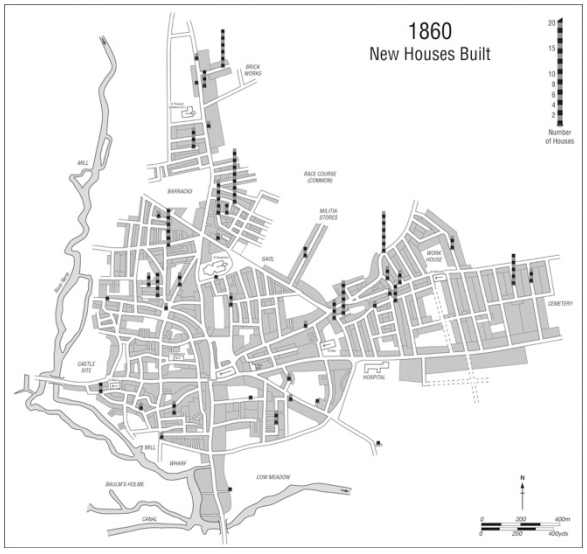
Figure 8. New Houses: Number and Total Rateable Value, By Year.











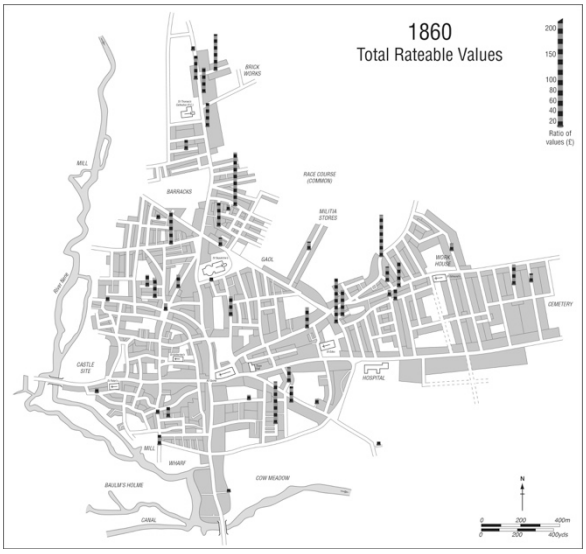
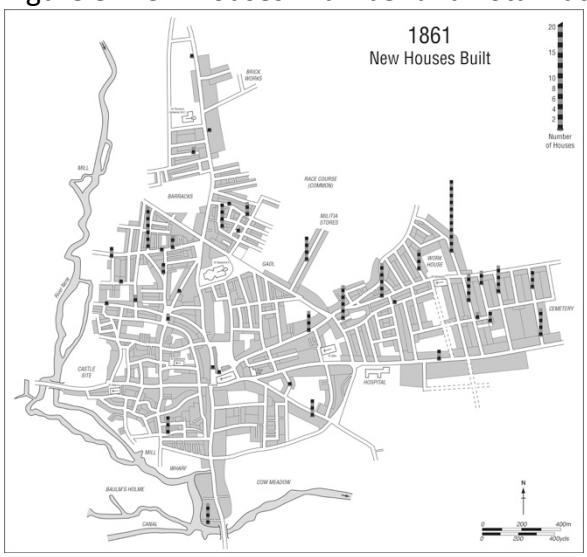
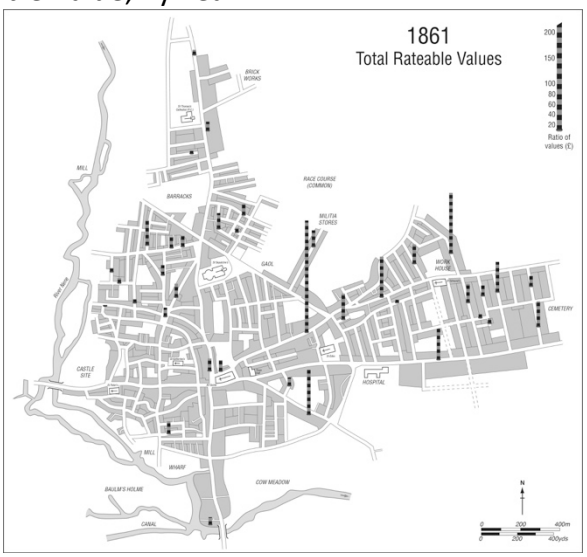
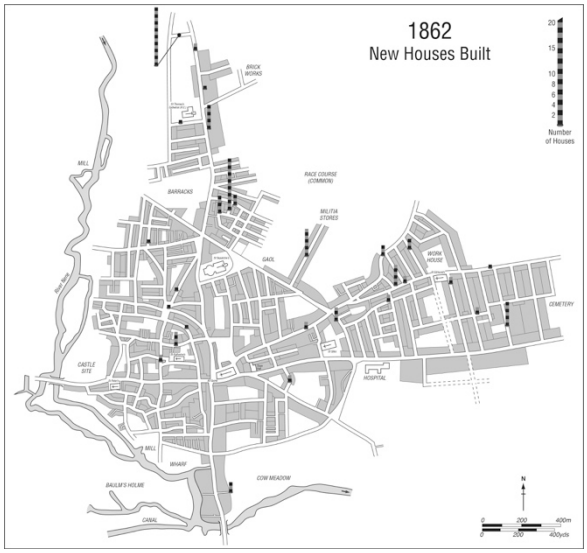
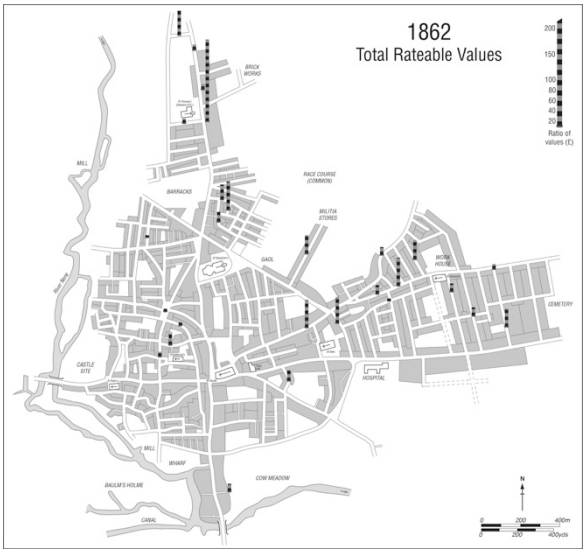


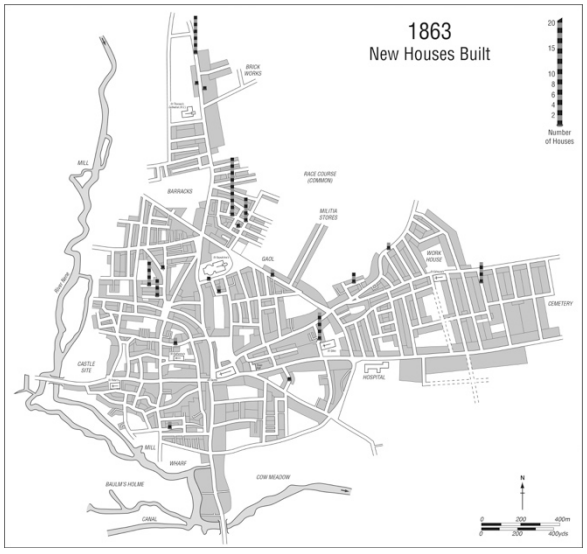
Figure 8. New Houses: Number and Total Rateable Value, By Year.

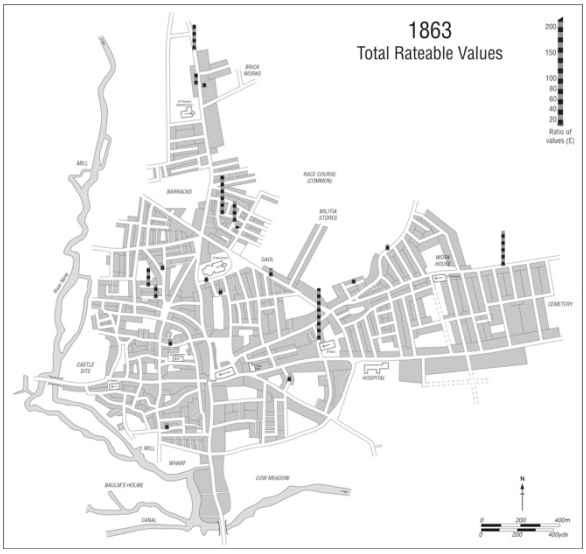












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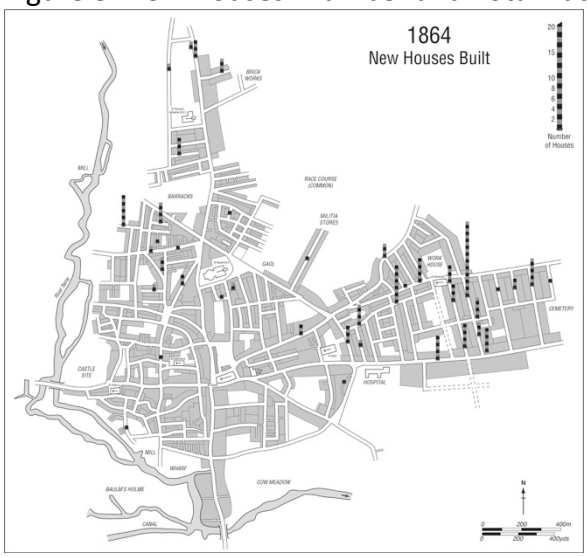

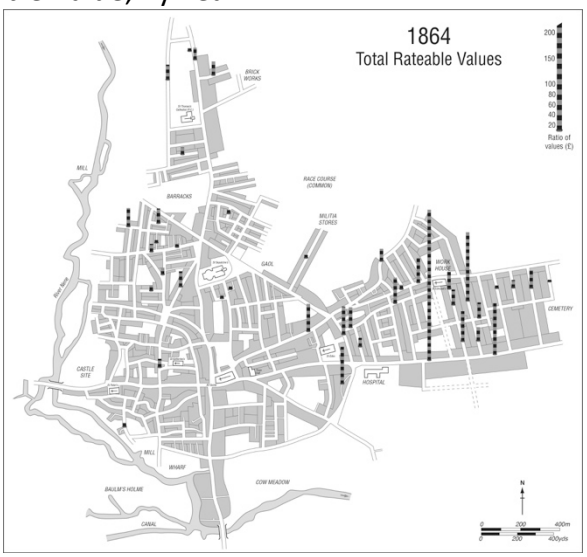

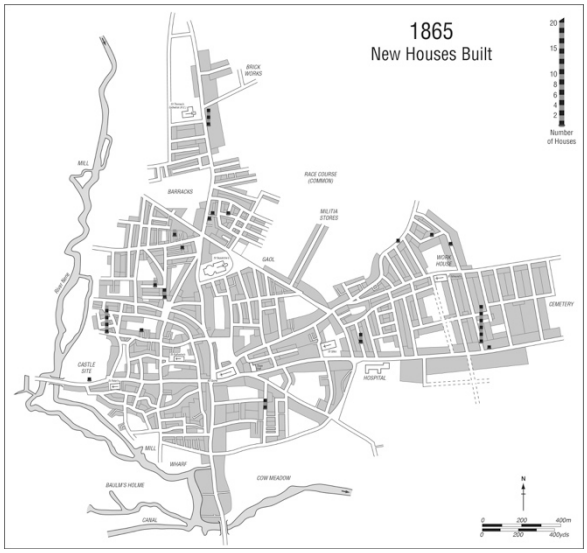

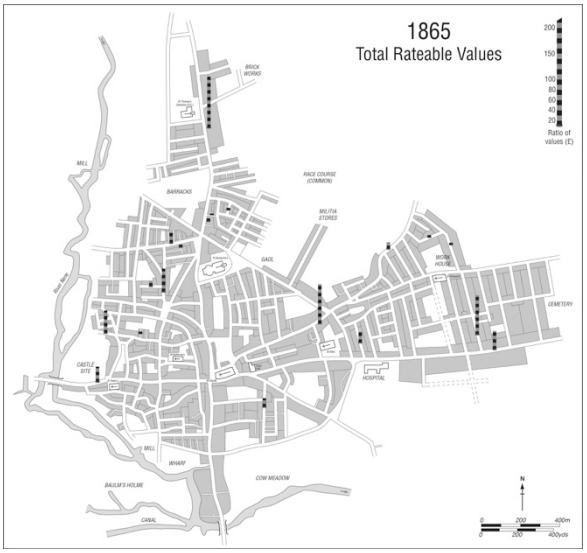

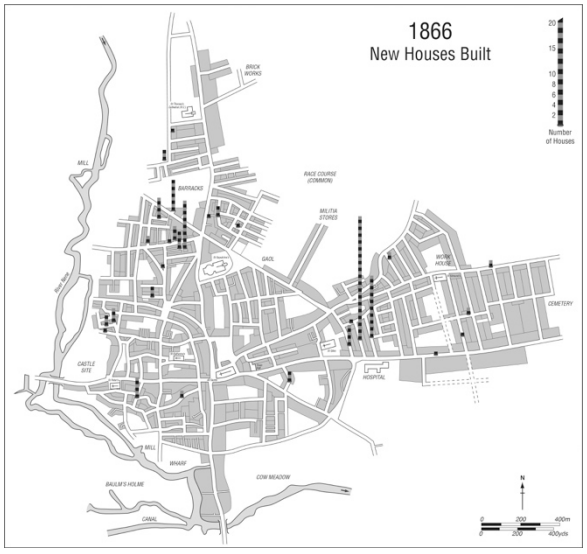

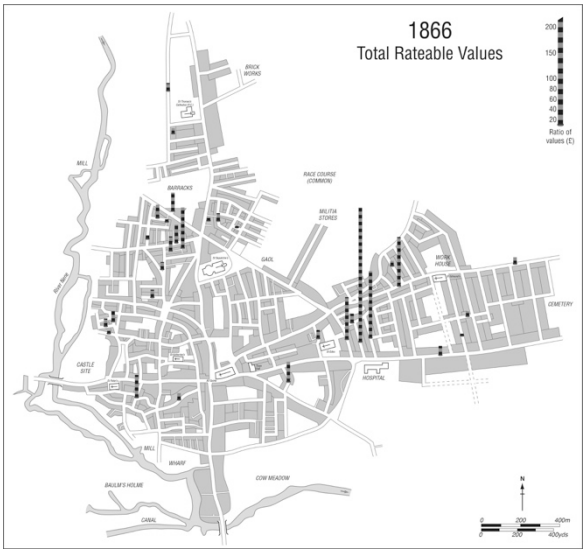

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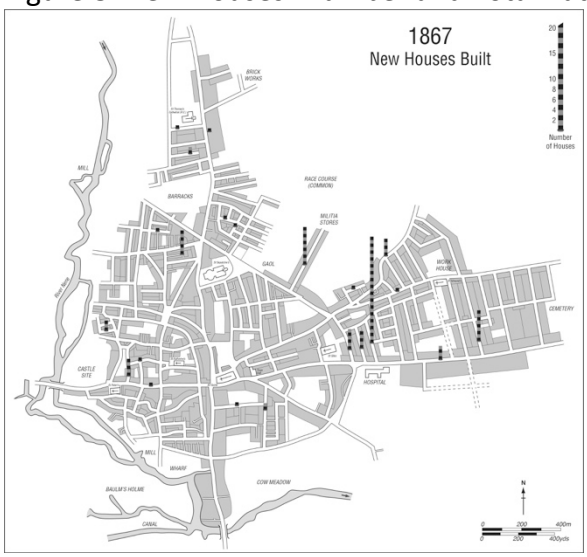
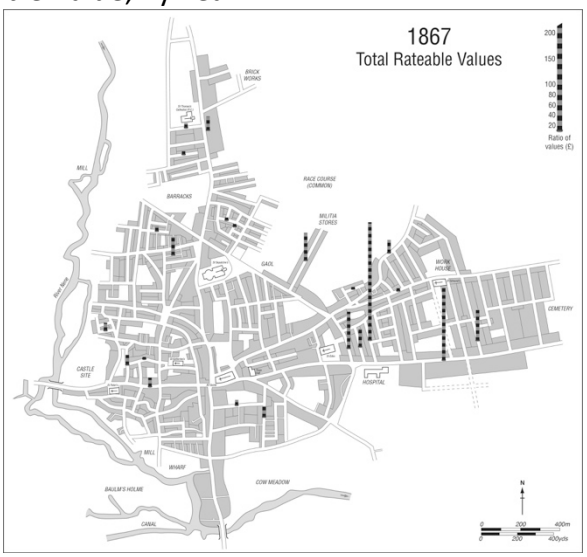
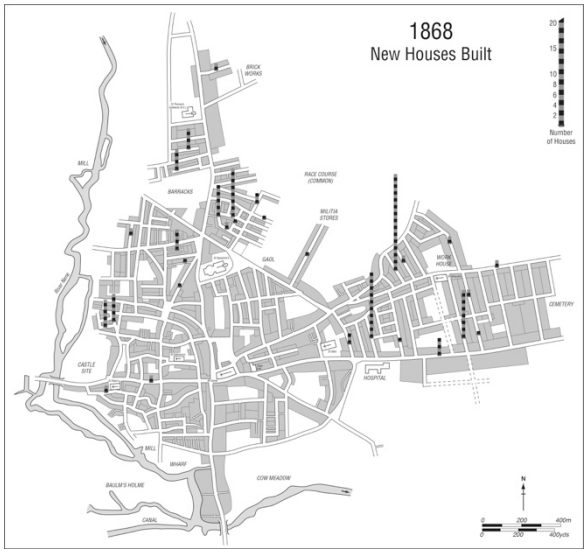
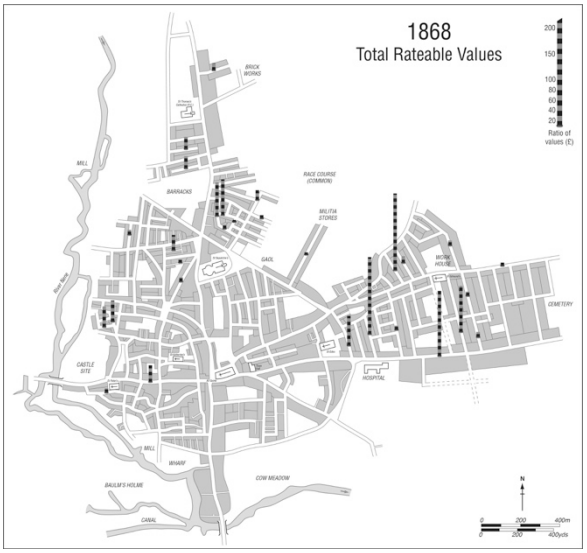
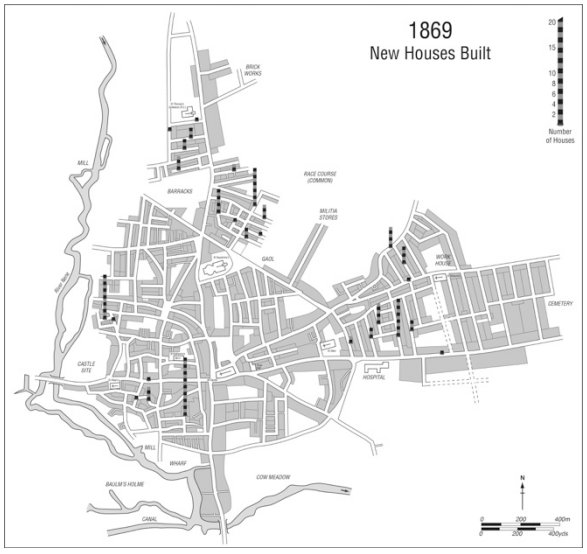










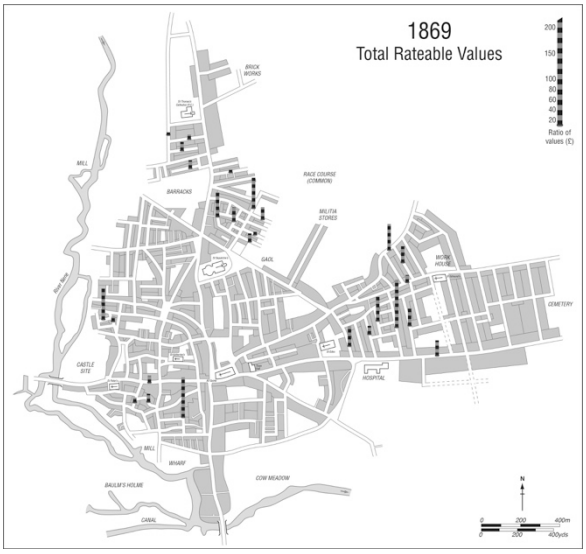
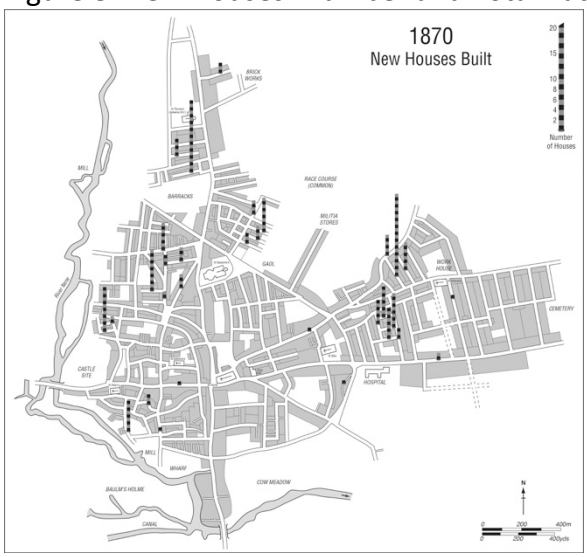
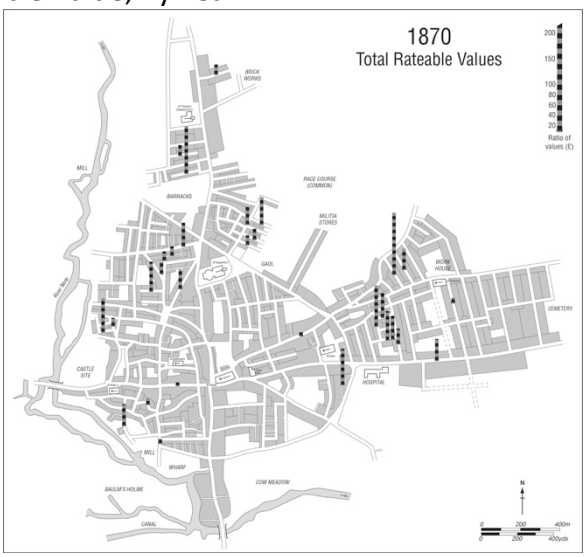
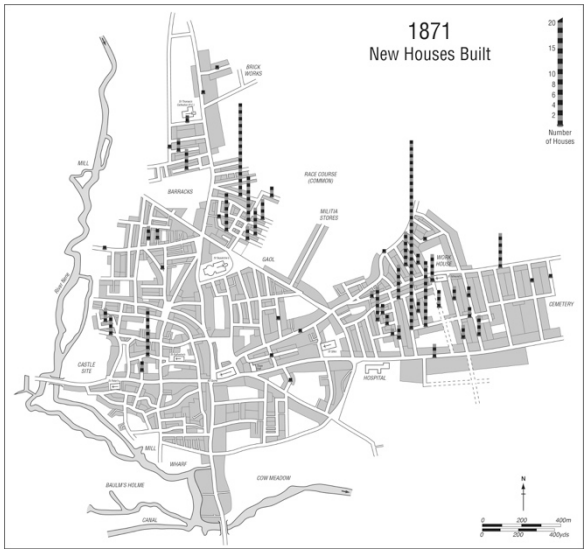


Figure 8. New Houses: Number and Total Rateable Value, By Year.

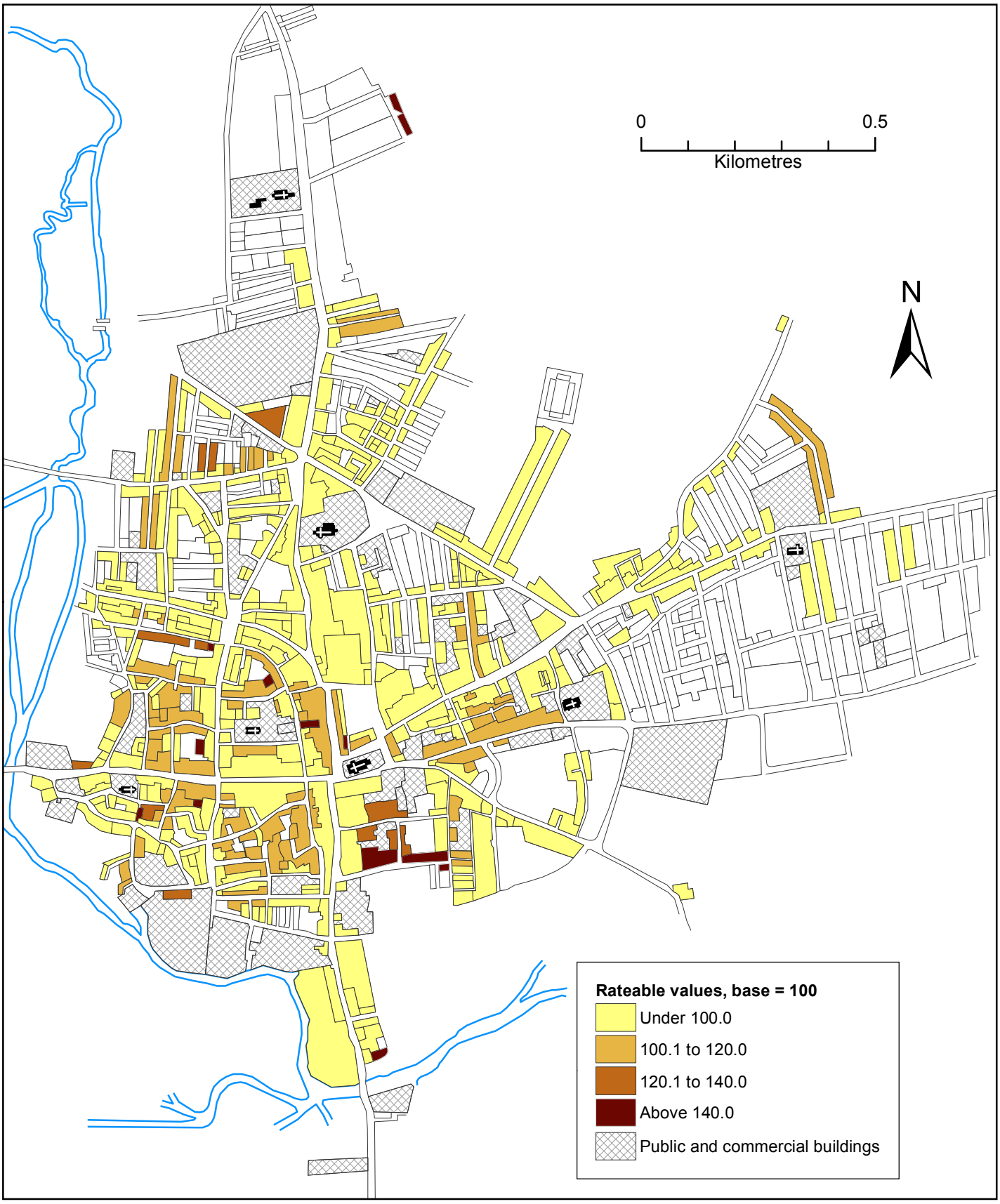






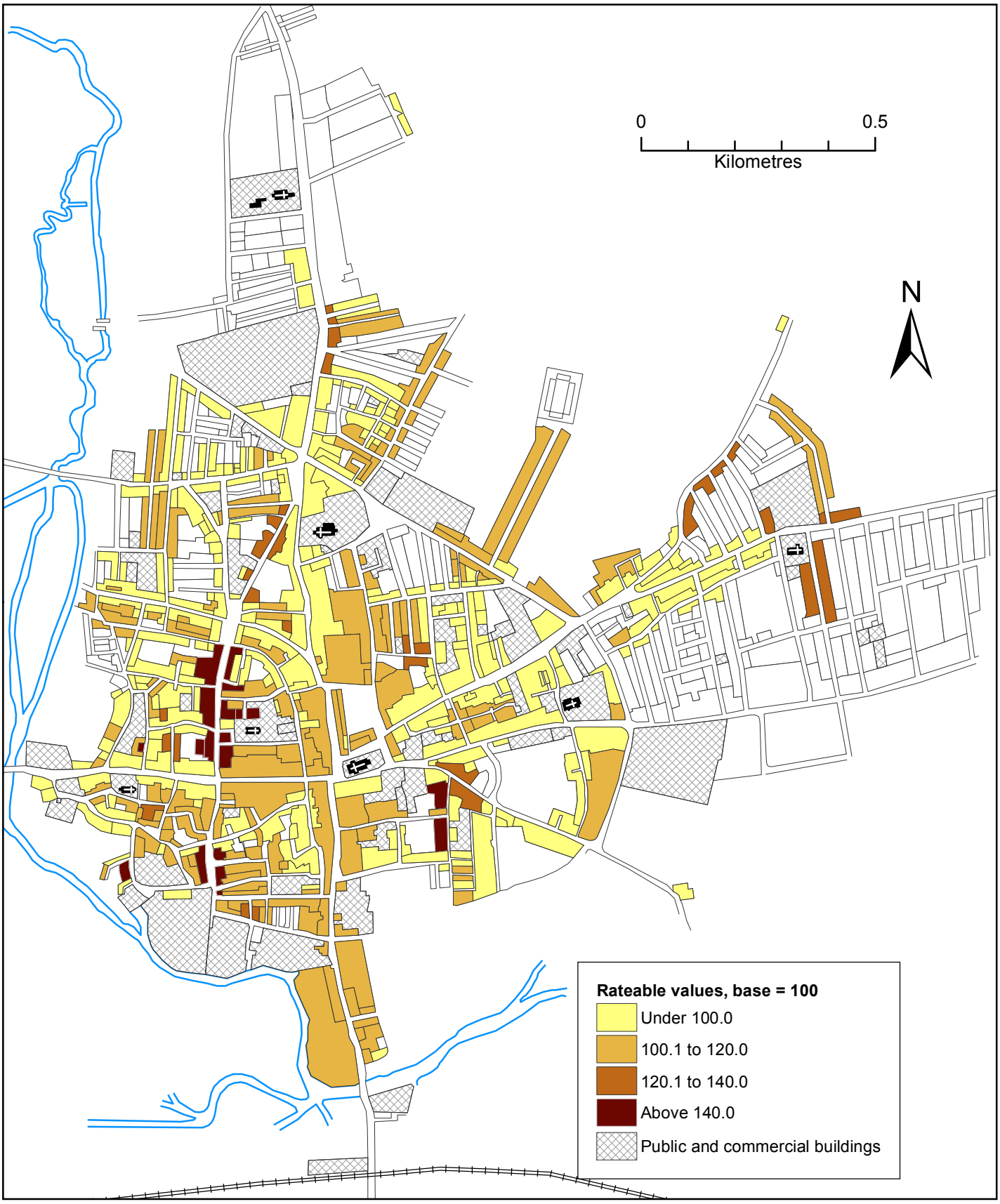
Source; rate books

Figure 9. Change in average rateable value per house,1841 - 1844



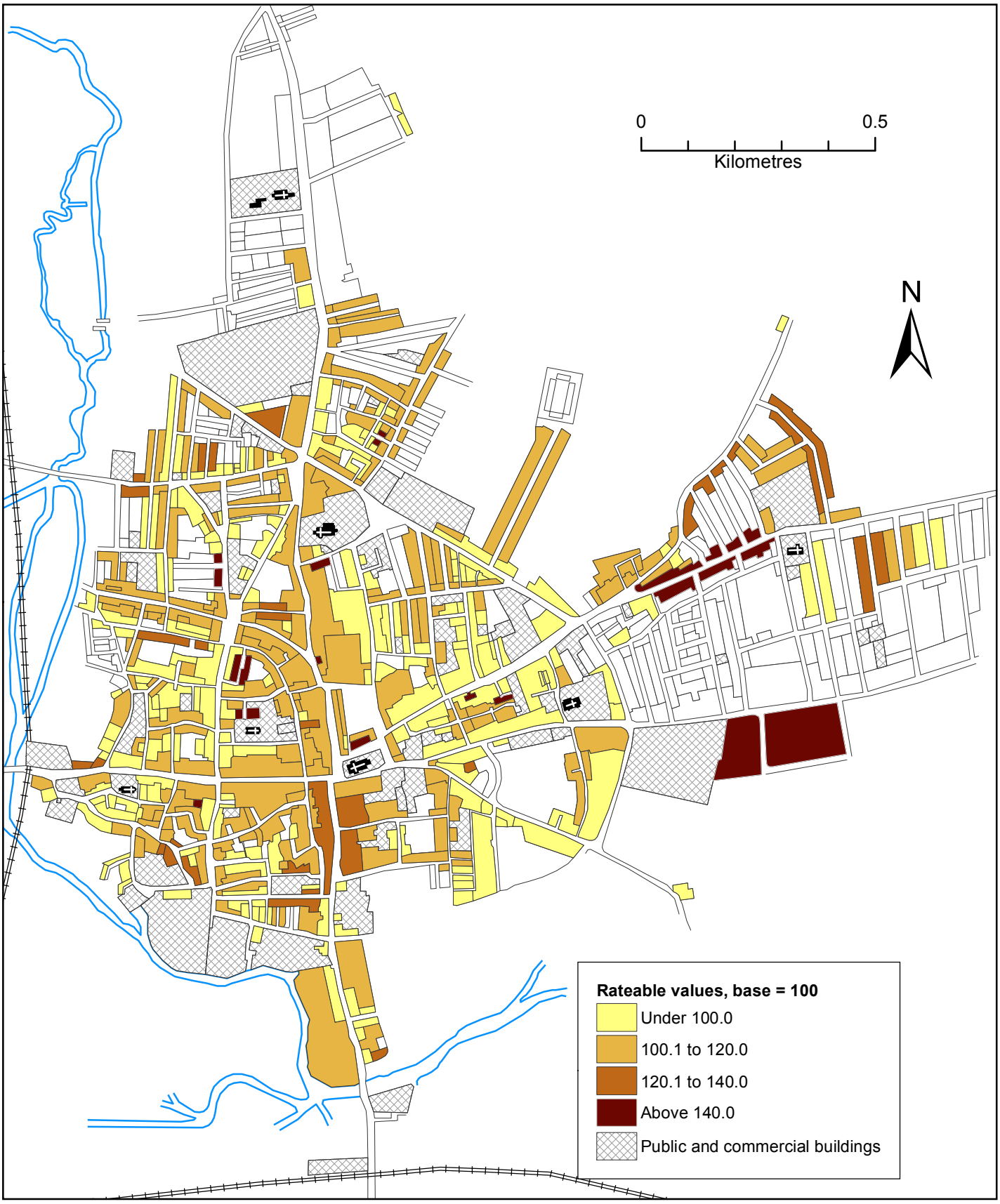
Source: rate books, 1841, 1844

Figure 10. Change in average rateable values per house, 1844-51



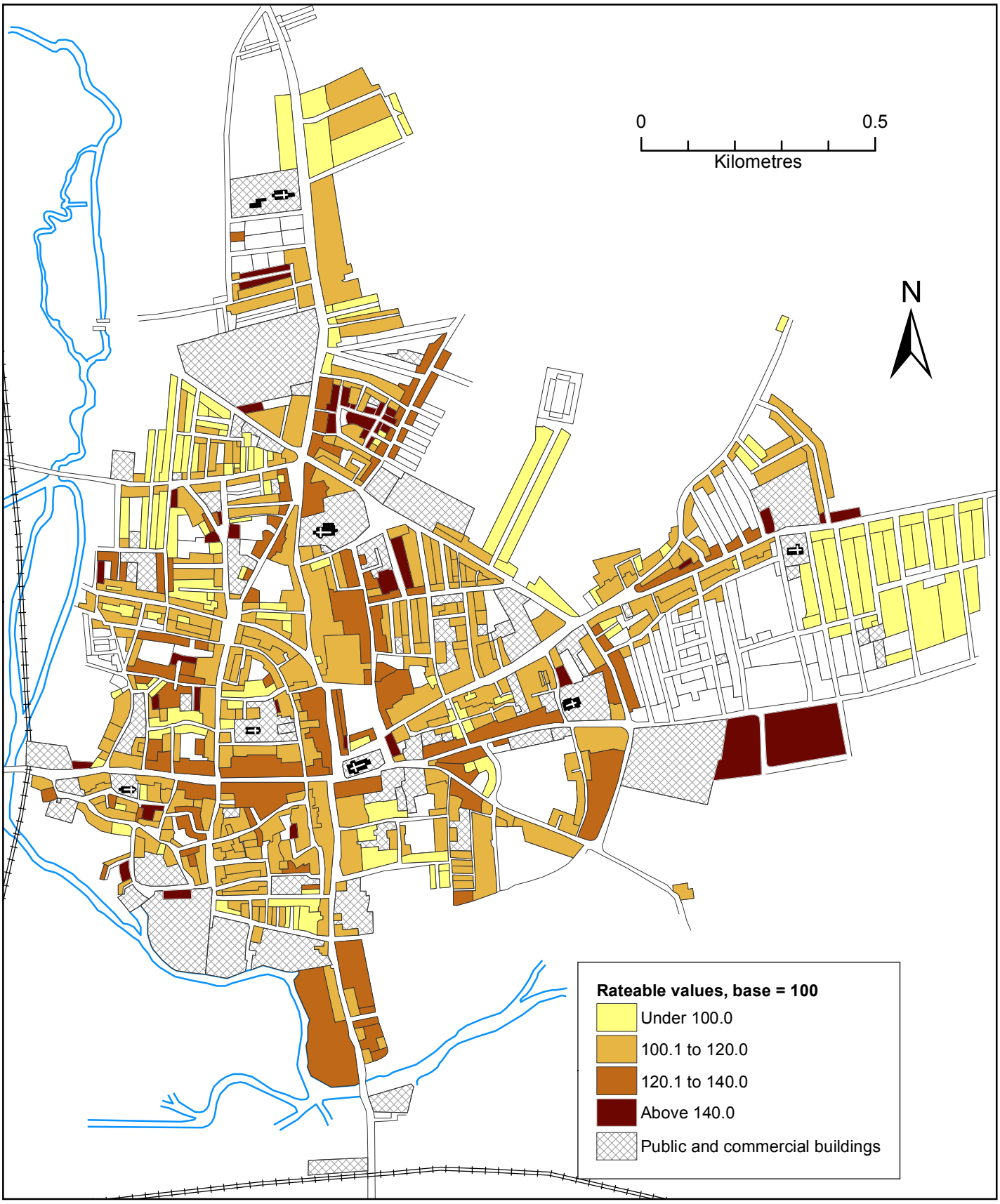
Source: rate books, 1844, 1851

Figure 11. Change in average rateable values per house, 1851-61



Source: rate books, 1851, 1861

Figure 12. Change in average rateable values per house, 1861-71



Source: rate books 1861, 1871

Figure 13a. Houses rated up to £5 in 1841 (%)

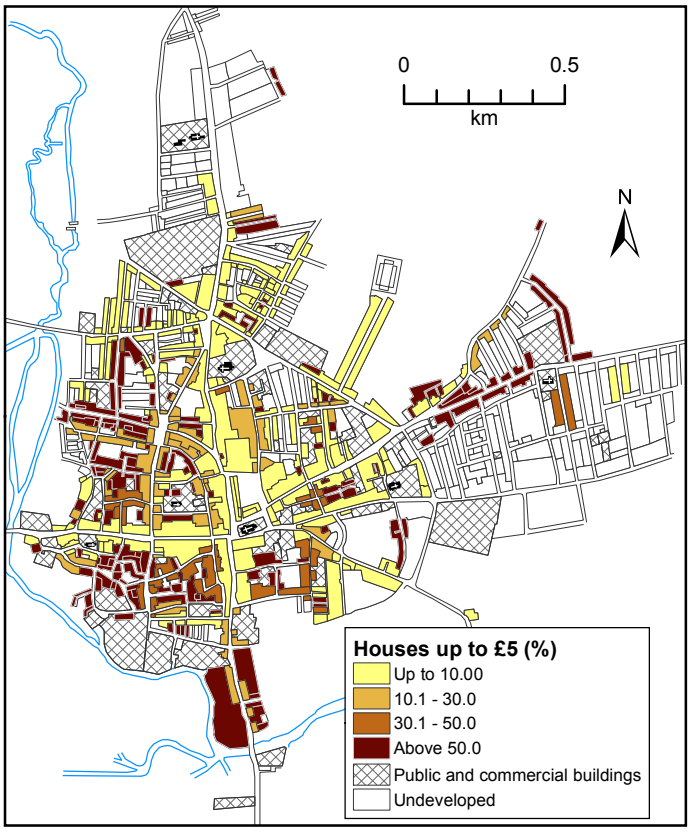


Figure 13b. Houses rated between £5.01 and £10 in 1841 (%)

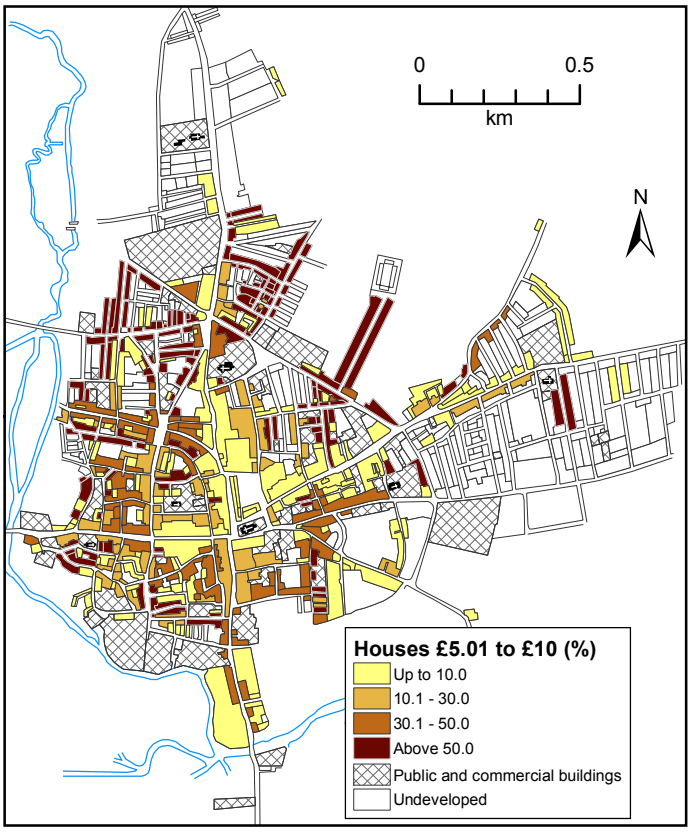


Figure 13c. Houses rated between £10.01 and £20 in 1841 (%)

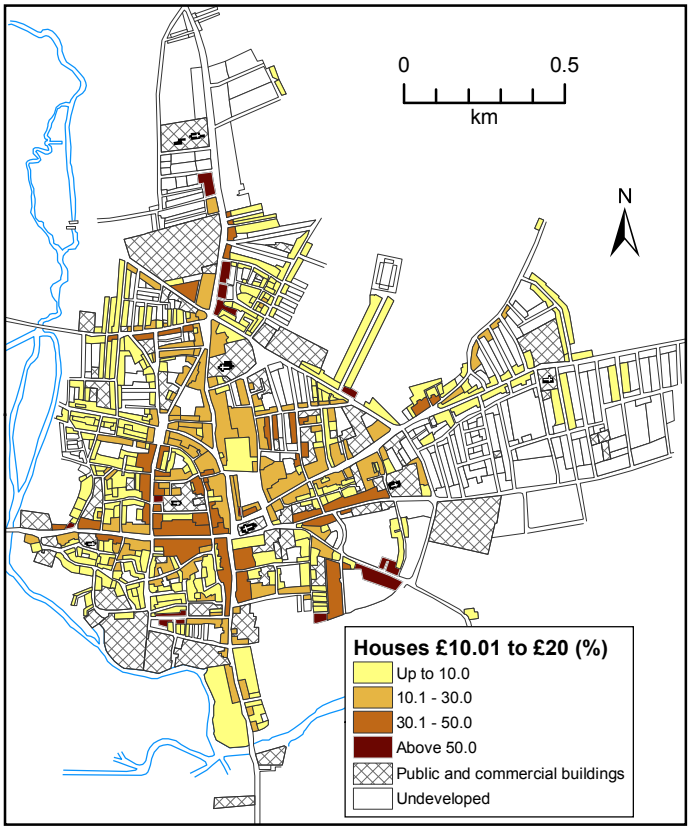
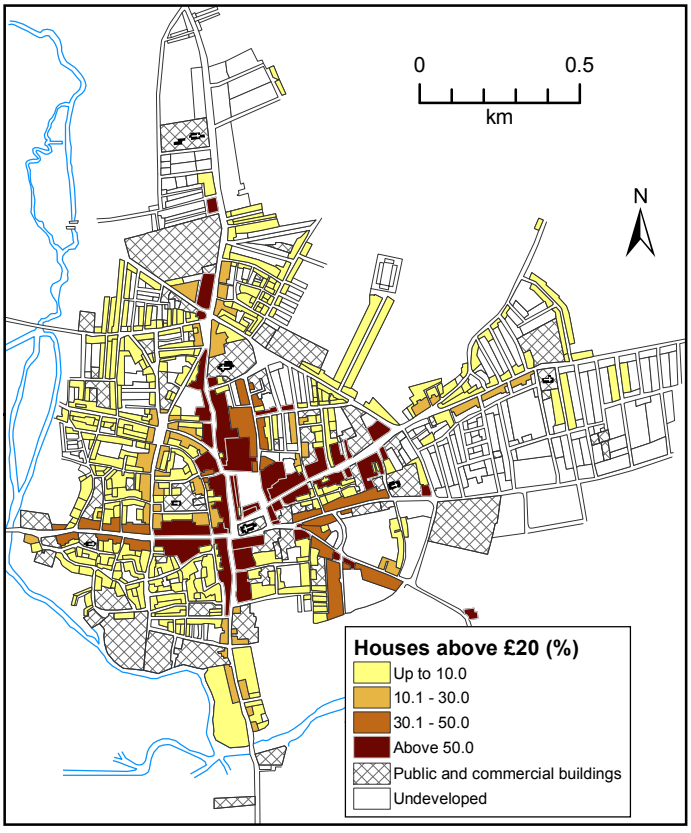


Figure 13d. Houses rated over £20 in 1841 (%)



Sources rate books 1841

Figure 14a. Houses rated up to £5 in 1844 (%)

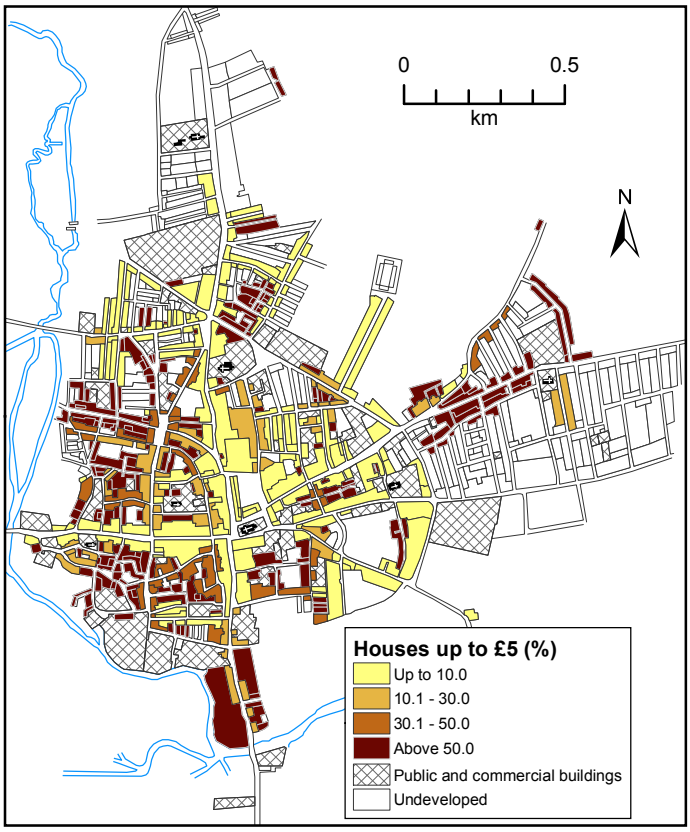


Figure 14b. Houses rated between £5.01 and £10 in 1844 (%)

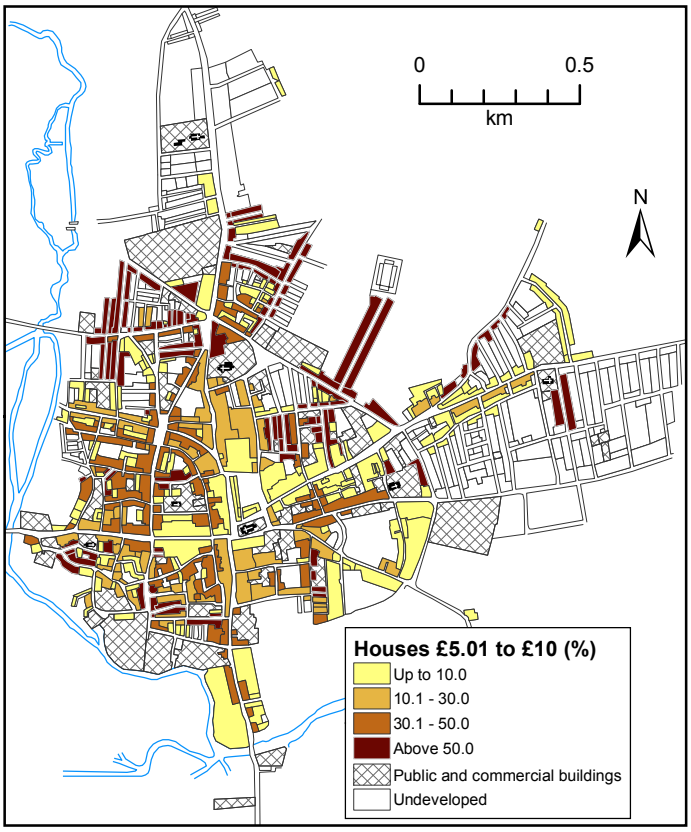


Figure 14c. Houses rated between £10.01 and £20 in 1844 (%)

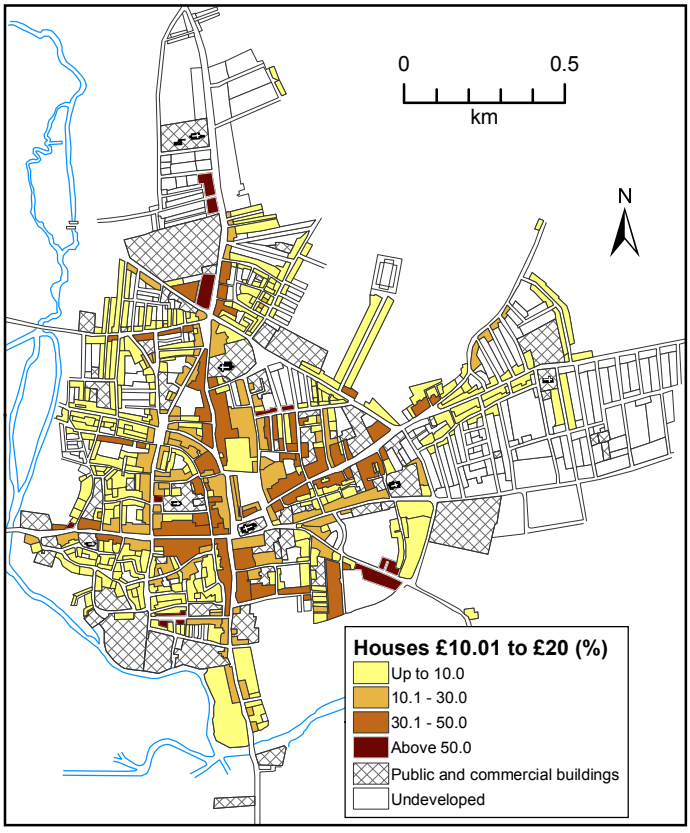
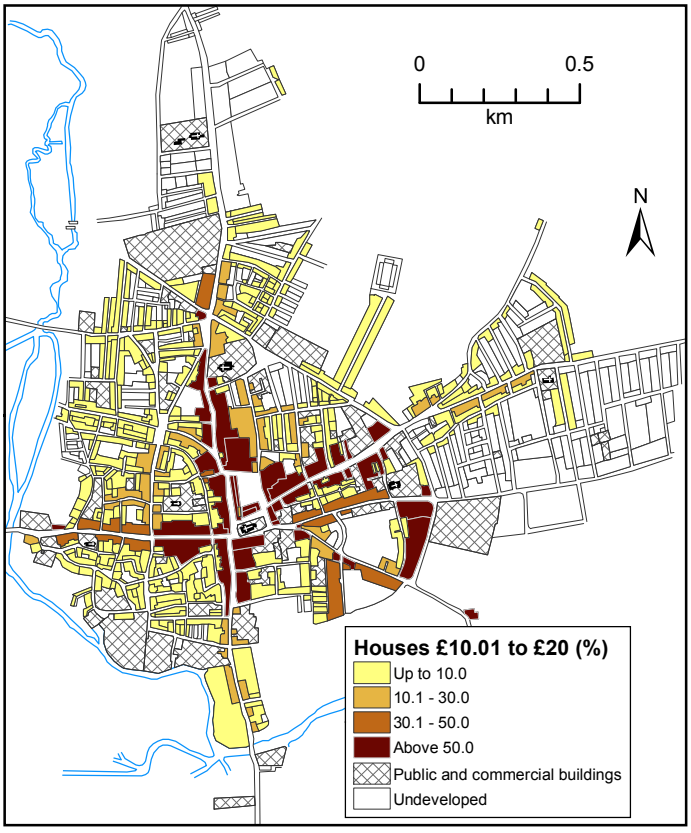


Figure 14d. Houses rated over £20 in 1844 (%)



Source; rate books 1844

Figure 15a. Houses rated up to £5 in 1851 (%)

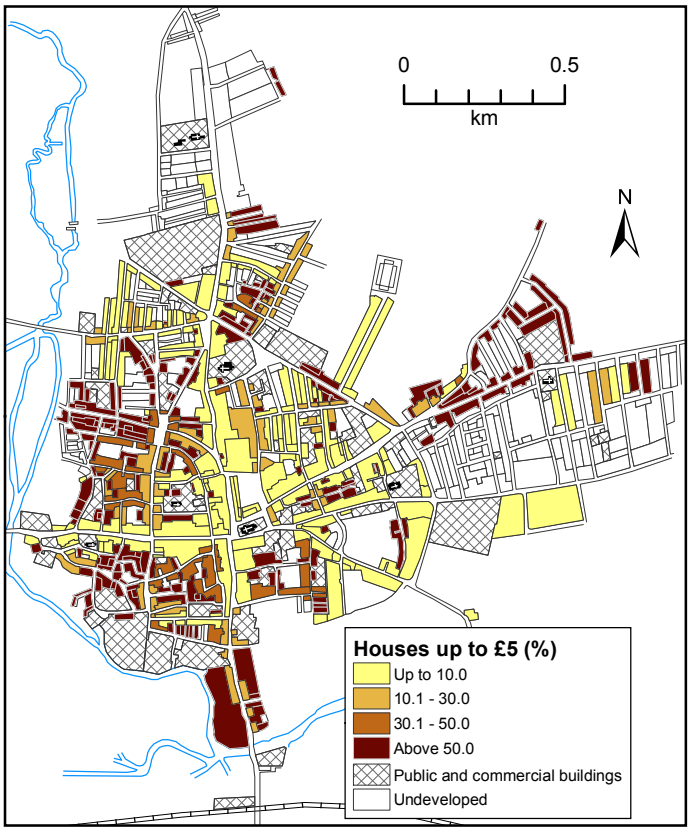


Figure 15b. Houses rated between £5.01 and £10 in 1851 (%)

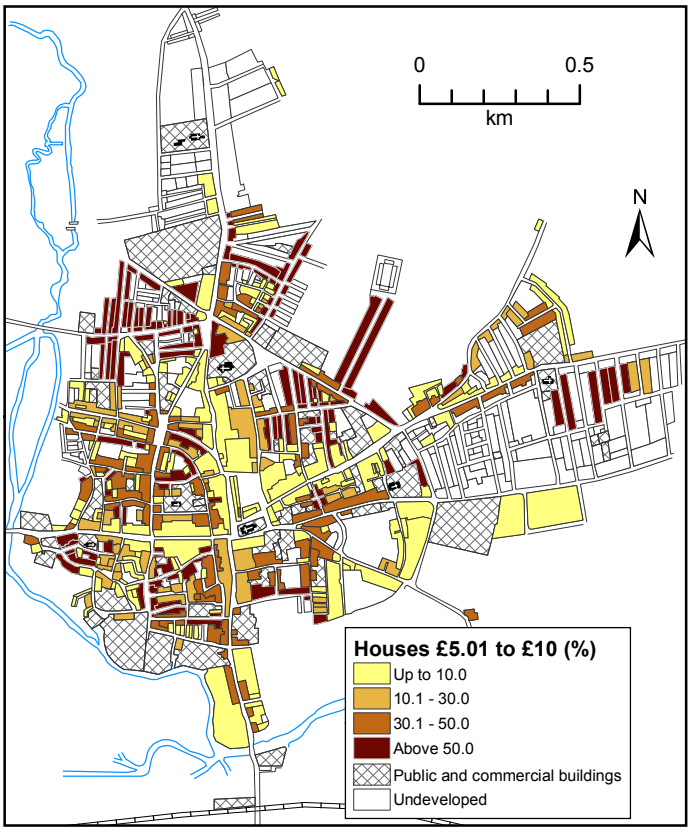


Figure 15c. Houses rated between £10.01 and £20 in 1851 (%)

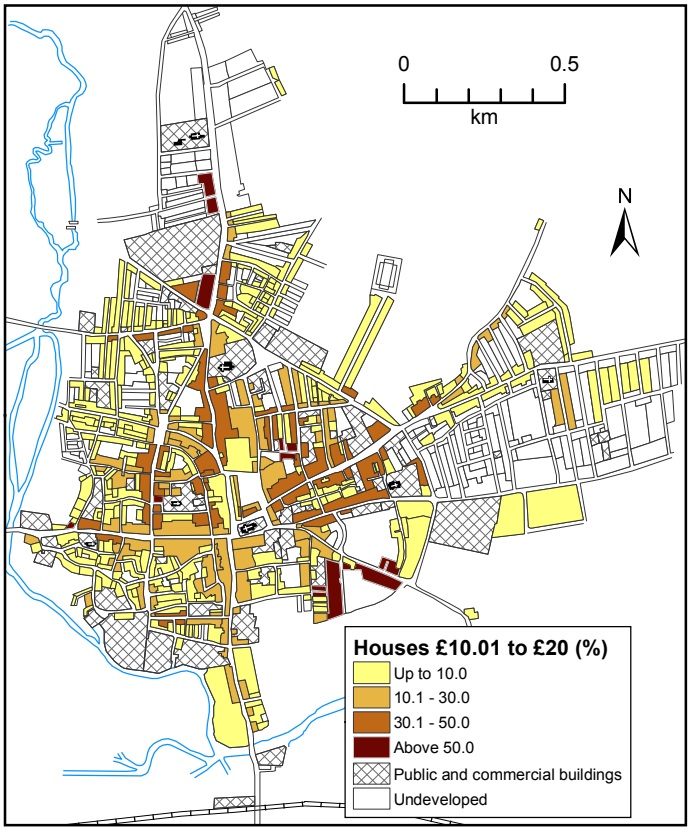
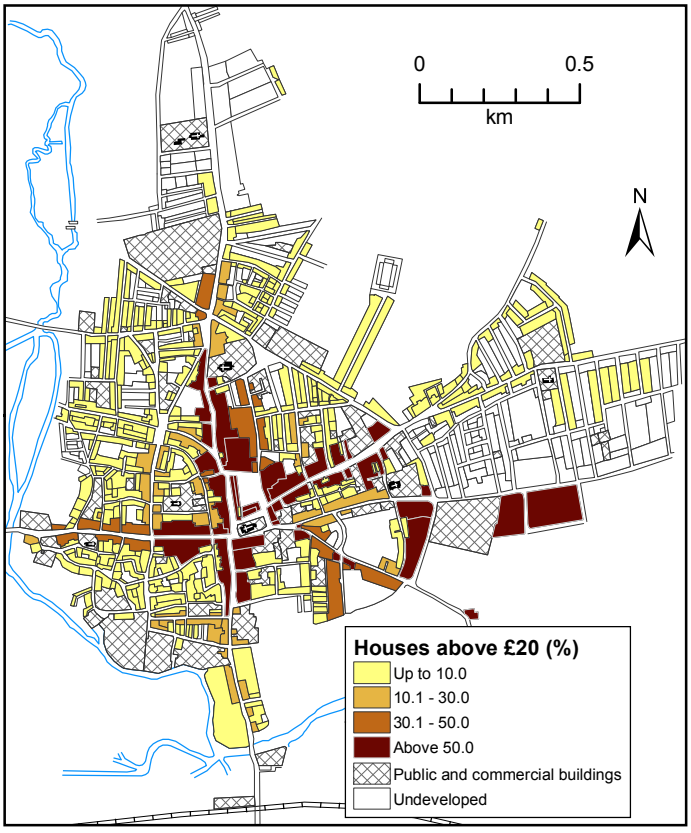


Figure 15d. Houses rated over £20 in 1851 (%)



Source: rate books 1851

Figure 16a. Houses rated up to £5 in 1861 (%)

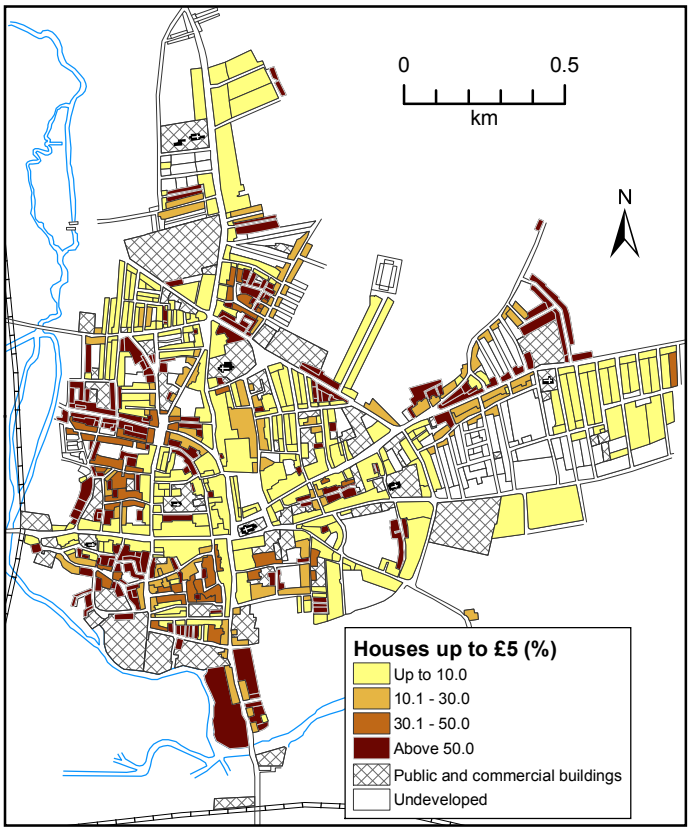


Figure 16b. Houses rated between £5.01 and £10 in 1861 (%)

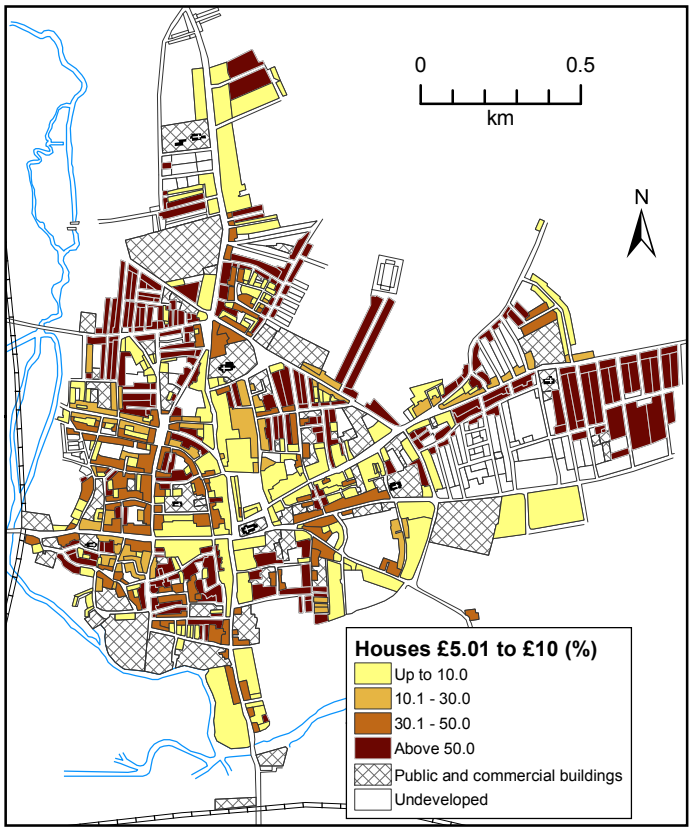


Figure 16c. Houses rated between £10.01 and £20 in 1861 (%)

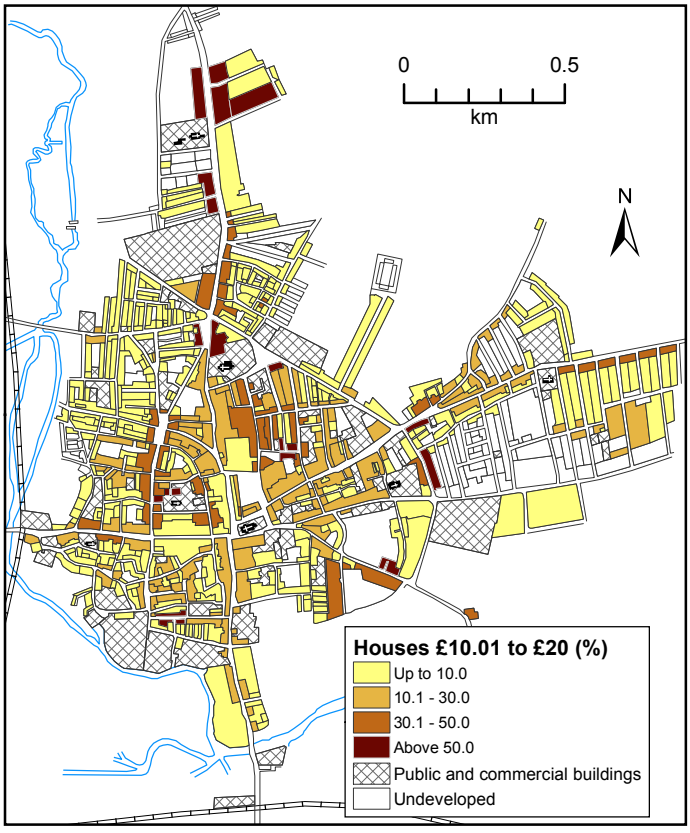
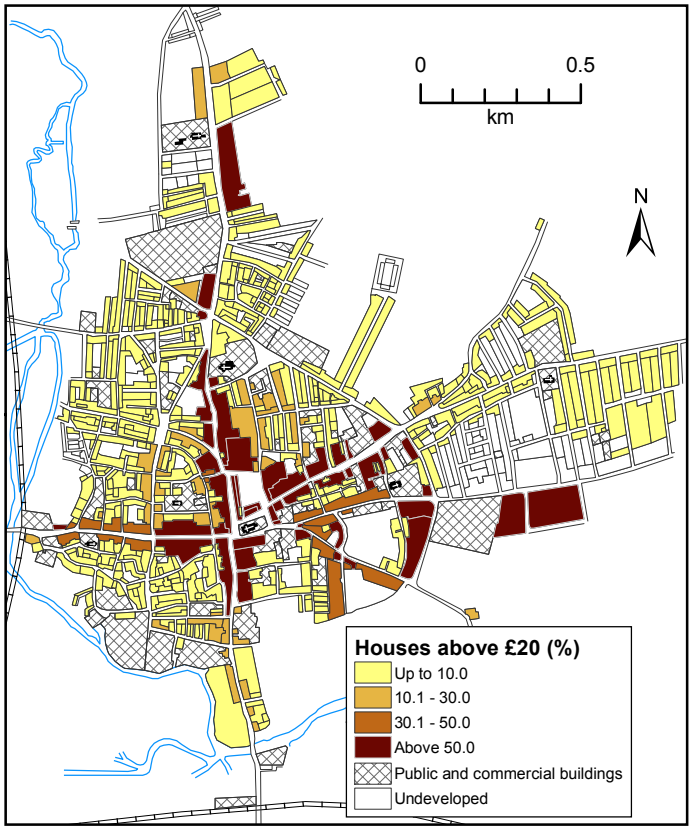


Figure 16d. Houses rated over £20 in 1861 (%)



Source: rate books 1861

Figure 17a. Houses rated up to £5 in 1871 (%)

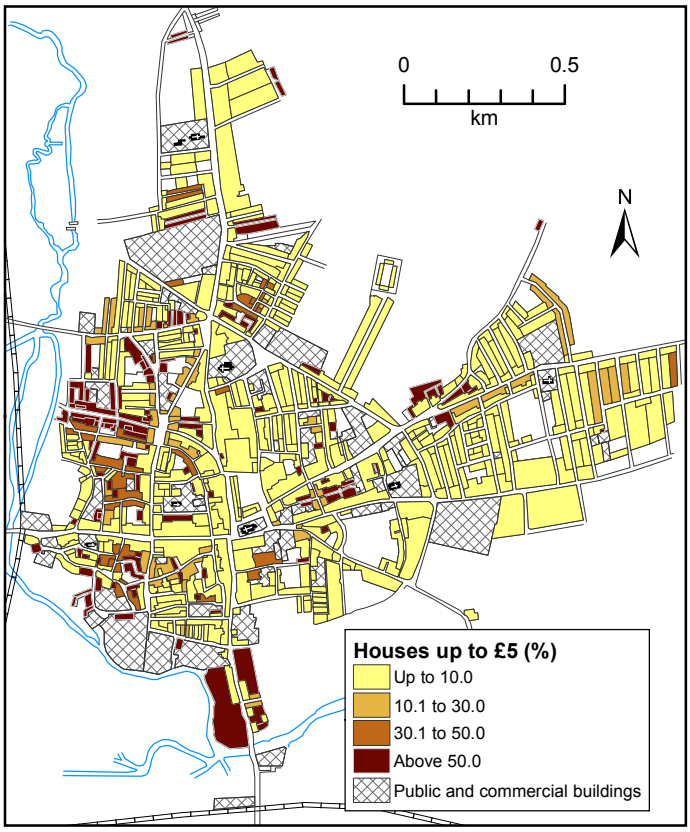


Figure 17b. Houses rated between £5.01 and £10 in 1871 (%)

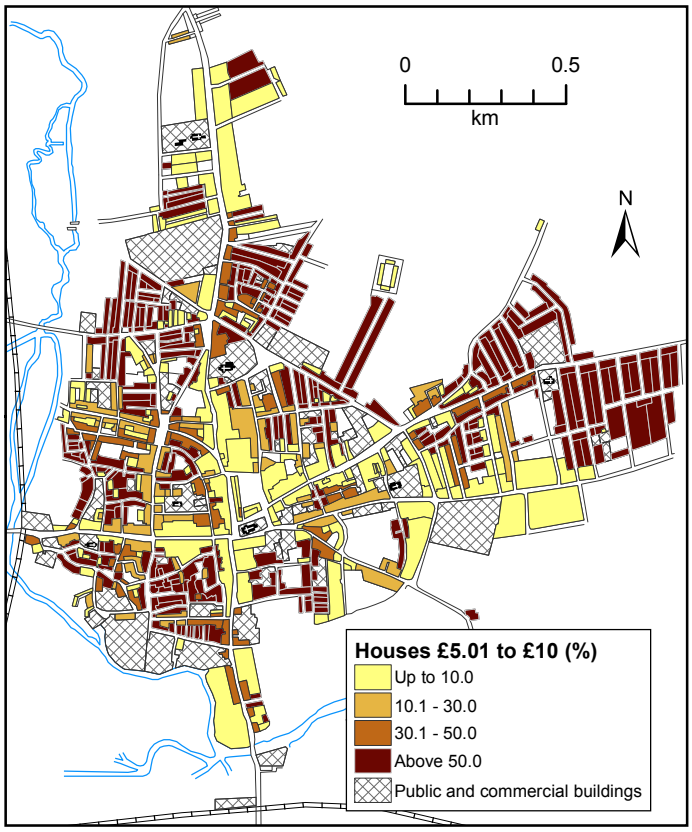


Figure 17c. Houses rated between £10.01 and £20 in 1871 (%)

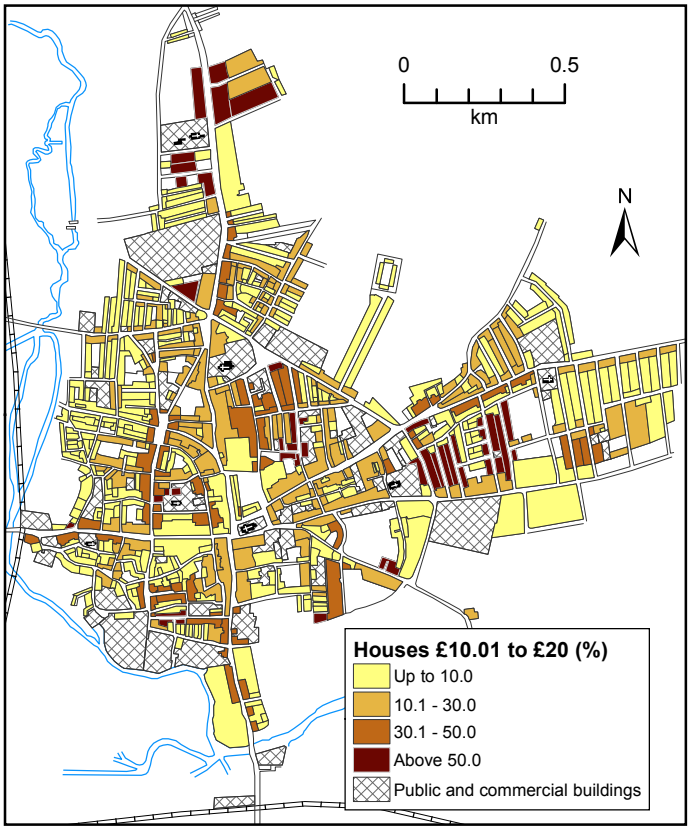
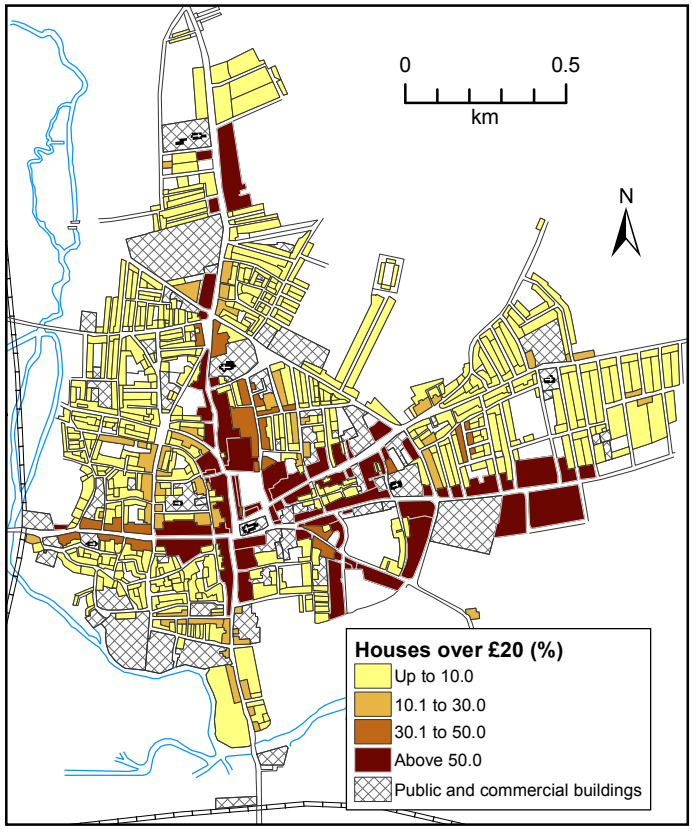


Figure 17d. Houses rated over £20 in 1871 (%)



Source: rate books 1871

Figure 18: Average rateable value per house in 1851

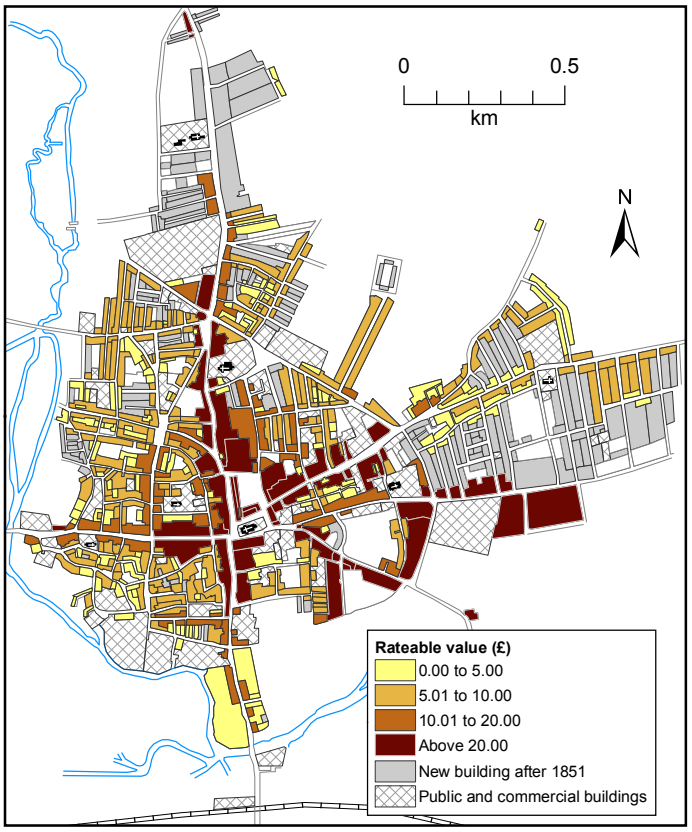


Figure 19: Average rateable value per house in 1871

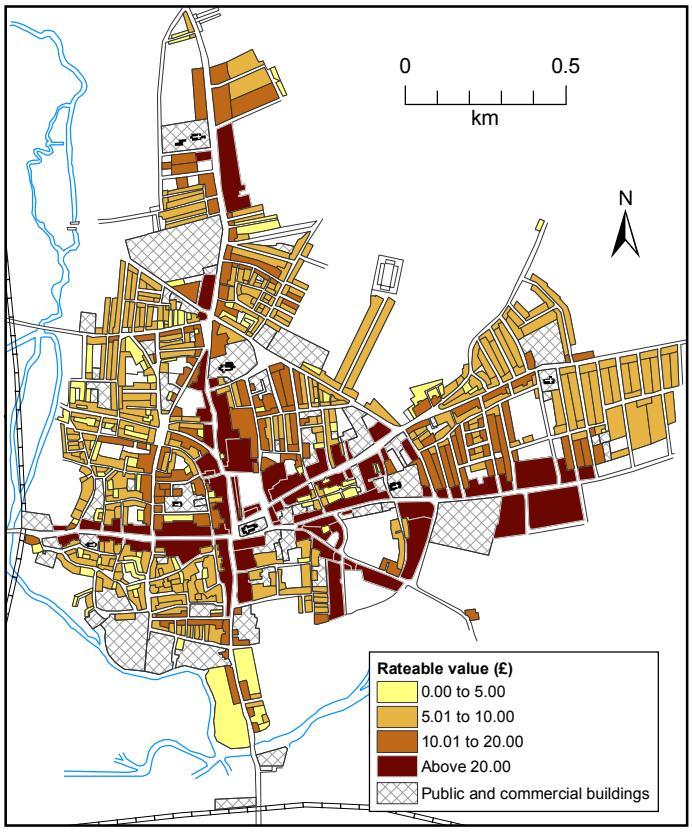


Figure 20: Rateable value per head 1851

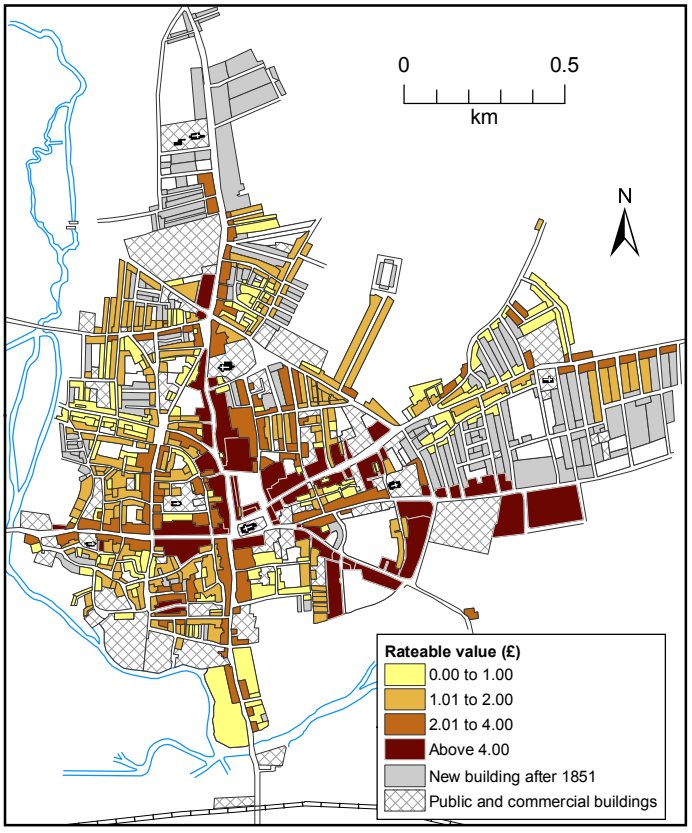
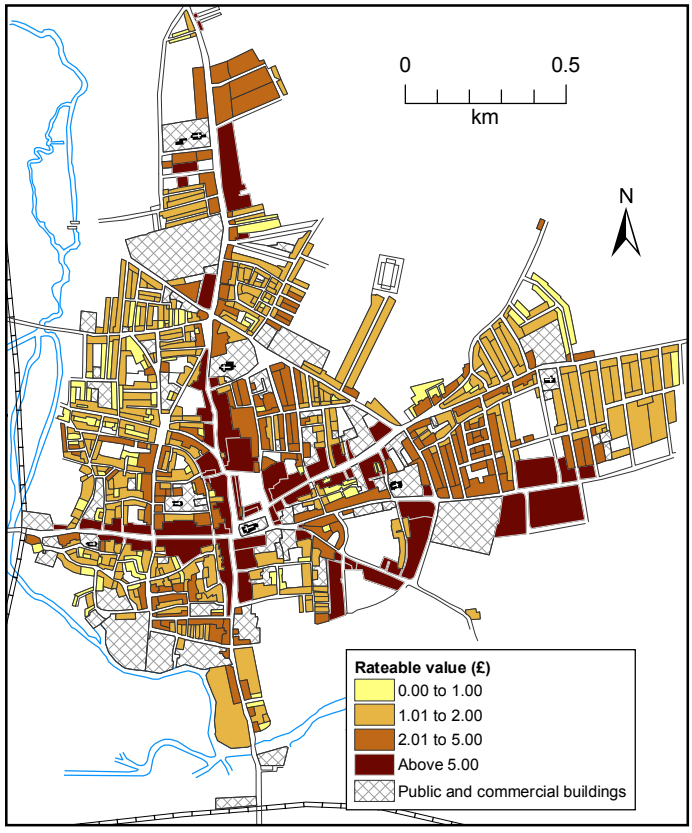


Figure 21: Rateable value per head 1871



Sources: rate books and censuses 1851, 1871

Figure 22. Distribution of owner-occupiers, 1871

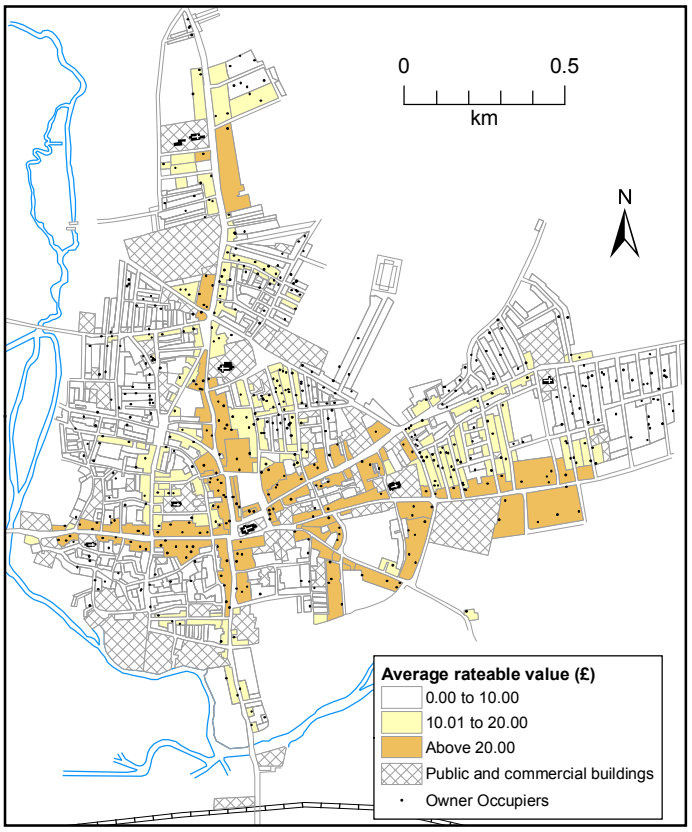


Figure 23. Distribution of houses in multiple occupation, 1871

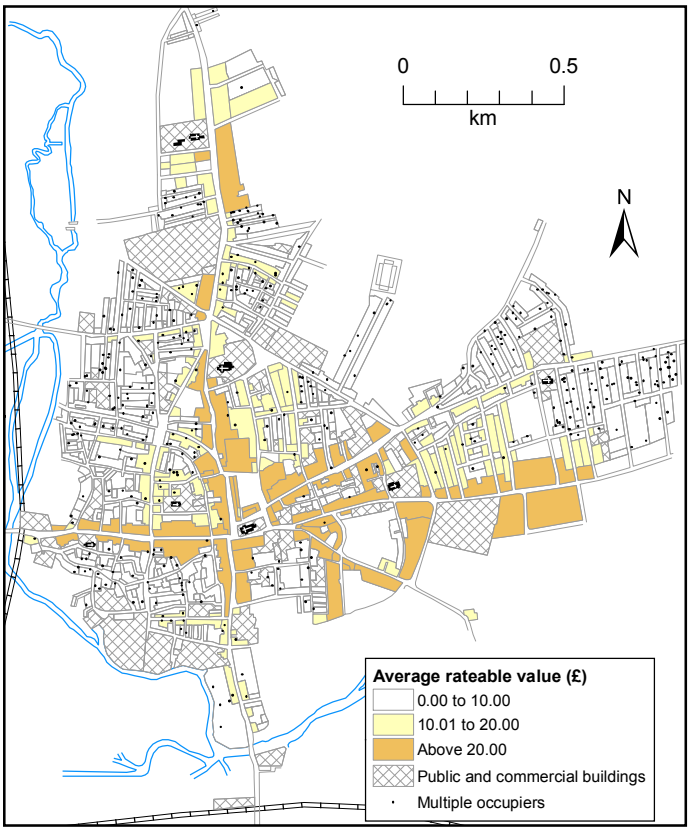


Figure 24. Distribution of boarders and lodgers, 1871

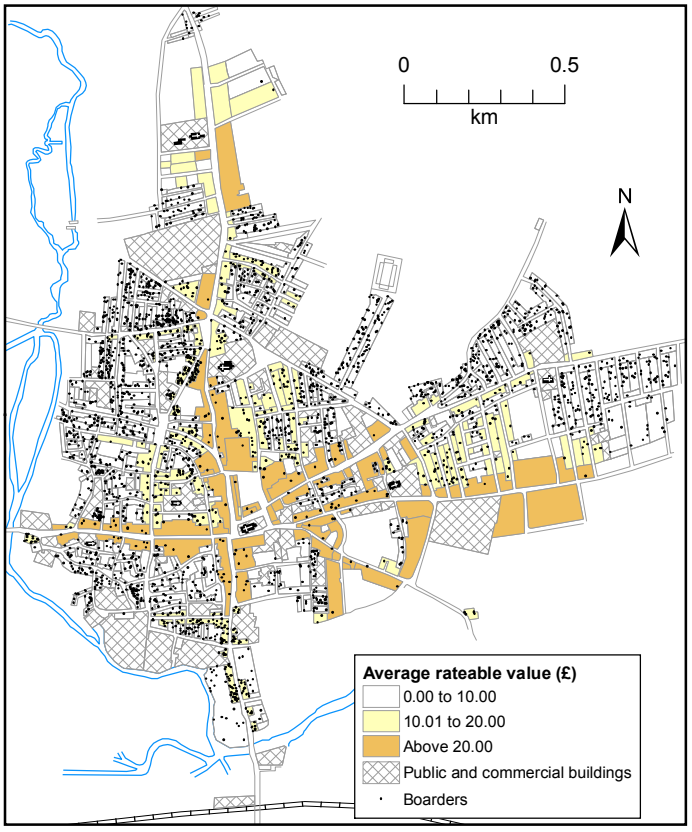
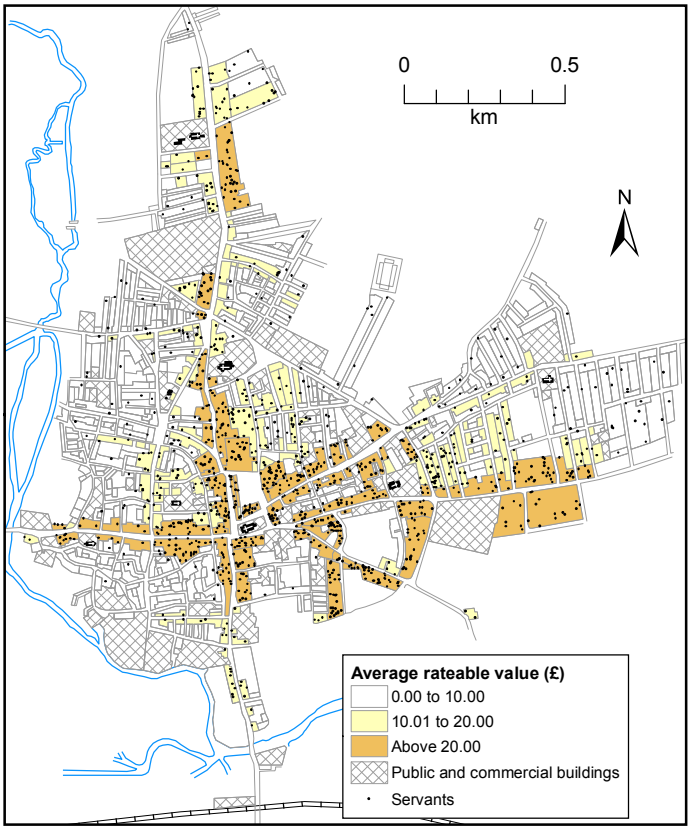


Figure 25. Distribution of domestic servants, 1871



Sources; census 1871

Main private owners (1-4) 1844

Figure 26a. Thomas Roberts, 89 houses in 1844 (£488.00)

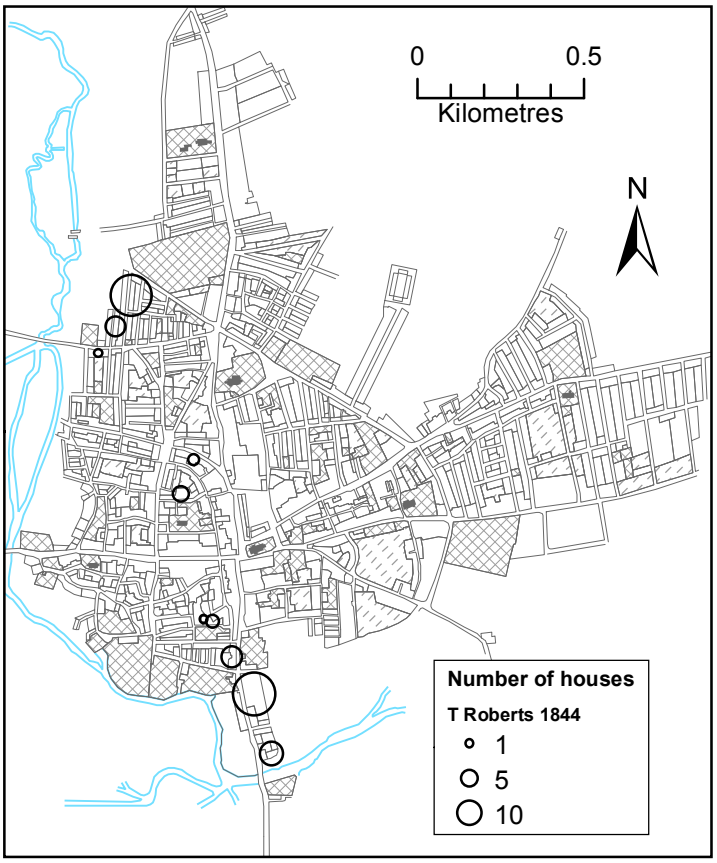


Figure 26b. J&S Percival, 81 houses in 1844 (£828.00)

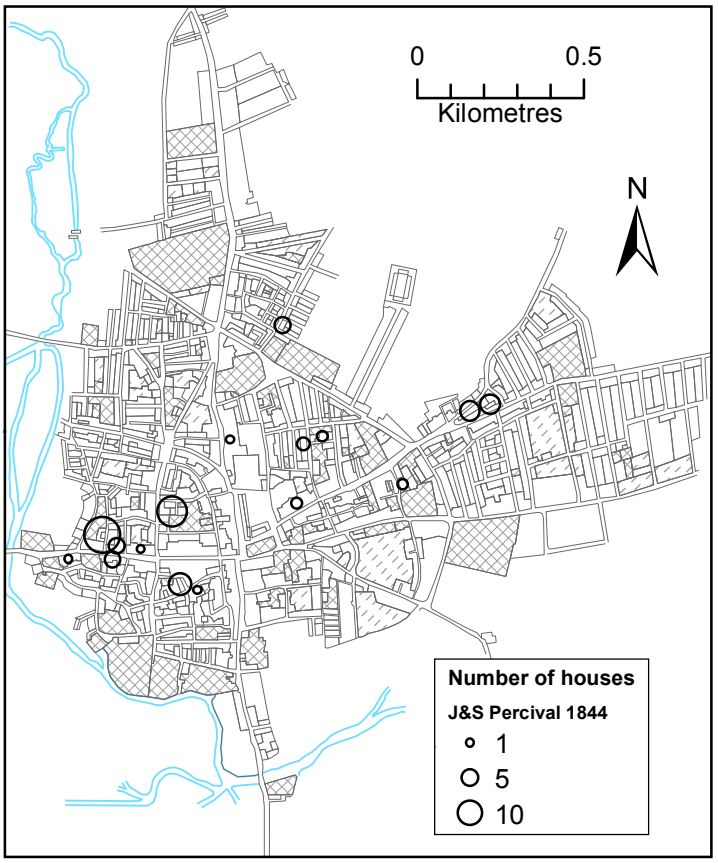


Figure 26c. Samuel Walker, 75 houses in 1844 (£570.25)

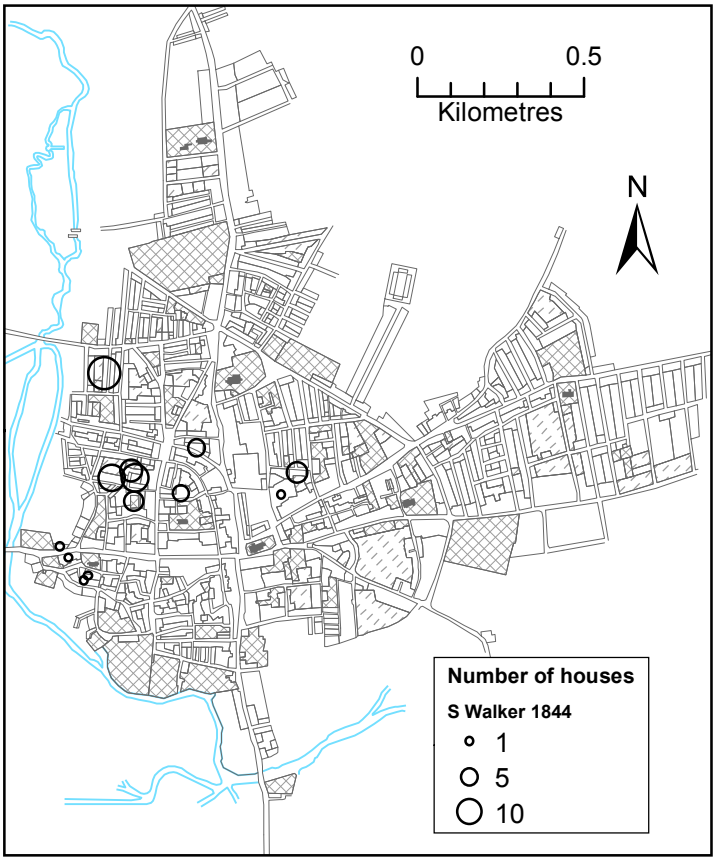
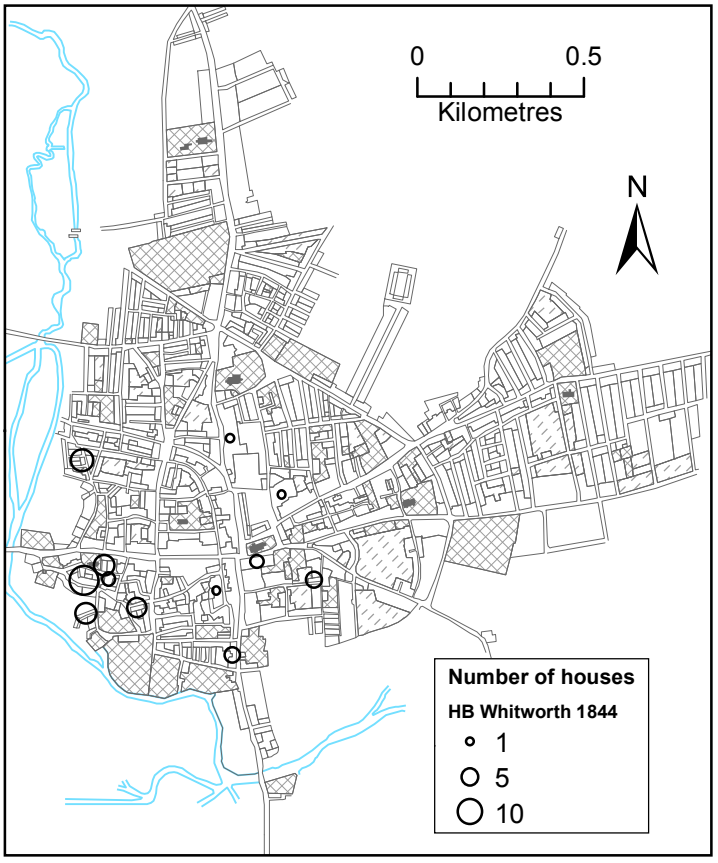


Figure 26d. Henry B Whitworth, 58 houses in 1844, (£394.50)



Sources: rate books 1844

Main private owners (5-8) 1844

Figure 27a. William Porter, 55 houses in 1844 (£413.00)

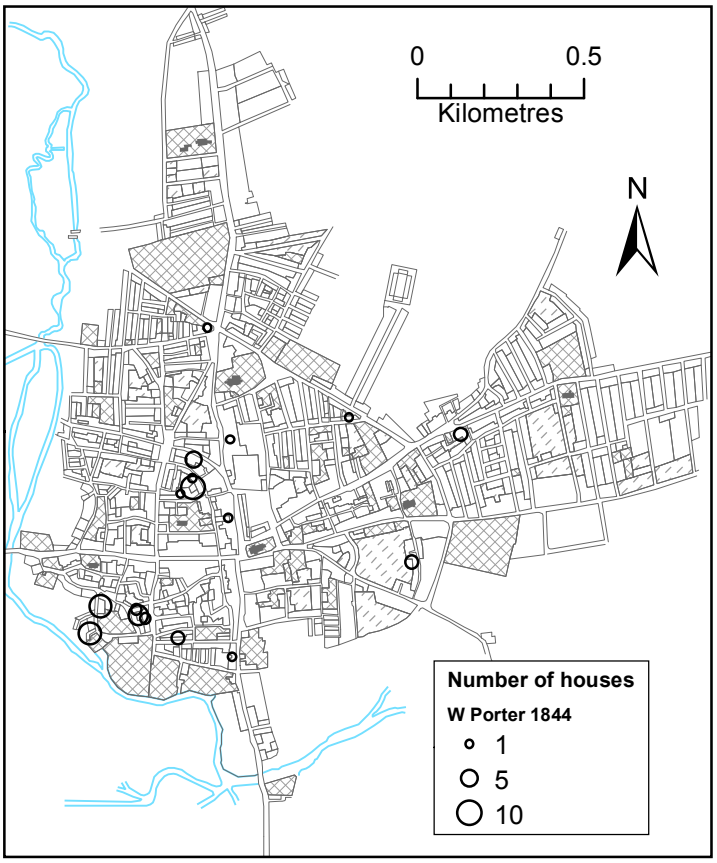


Figure 27b. RJ Scarborough, 49 houses in 1844 (£232.50)

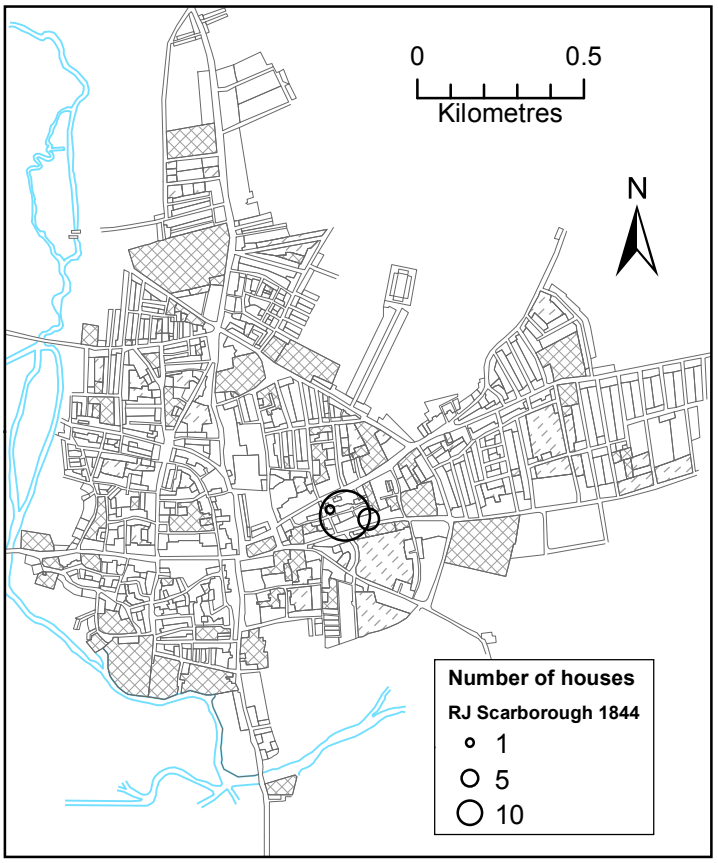


Figure 27c. Esther Wilson, 47 houses in 1844 (£380.00)

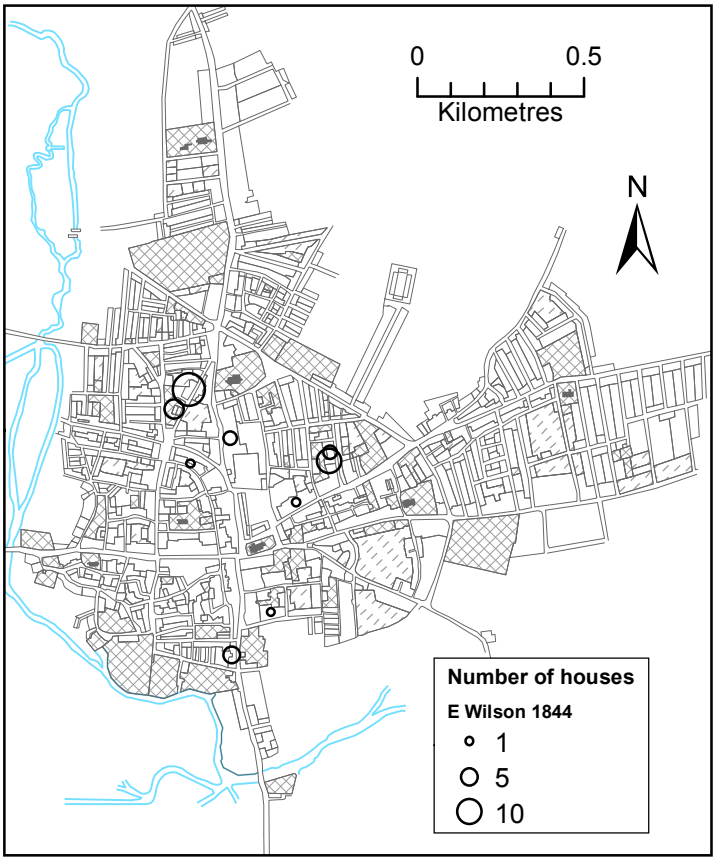
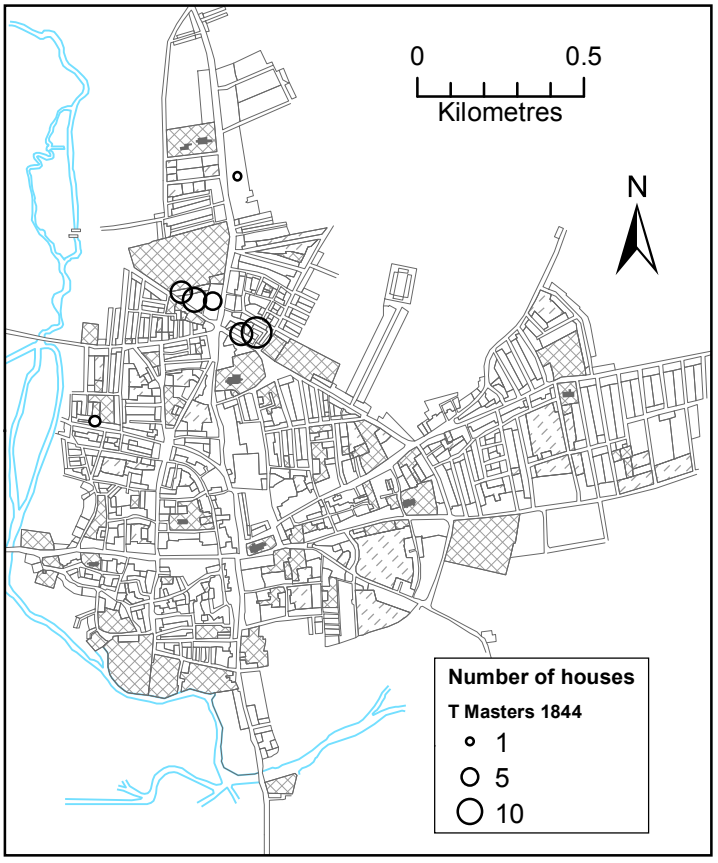


Figure 27d. Thomas Masters, 46 houses in 1844, (£405.50)



Sources: rate books, 1844

Main private owners (1-4) 1851

Figure 28a. Samuel Walker, 77 houses in 1851 (£554.00)

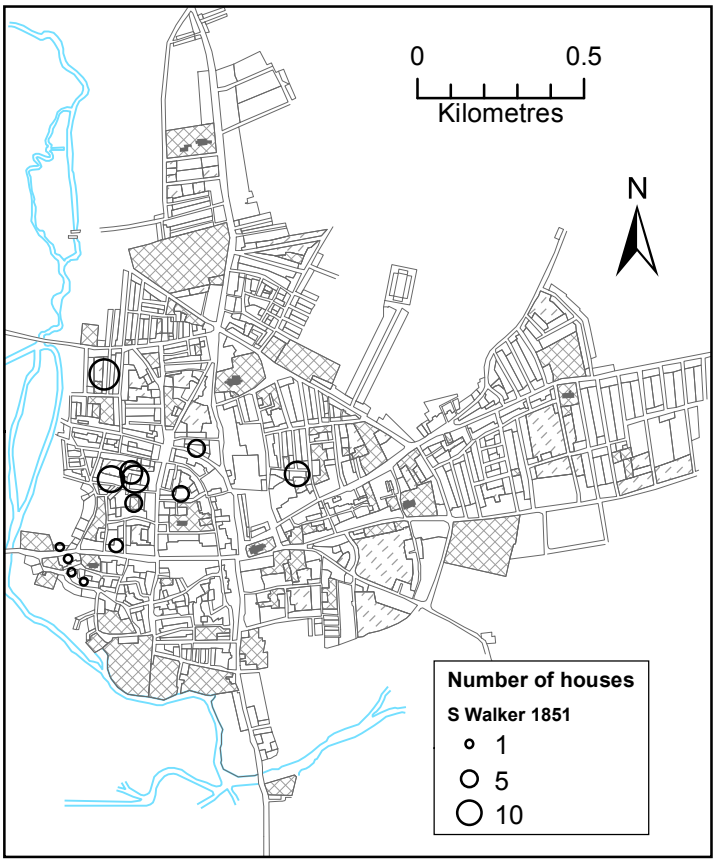


Figure 28b.Thos.Billingham, 60 houses in 1851 (£322.00)

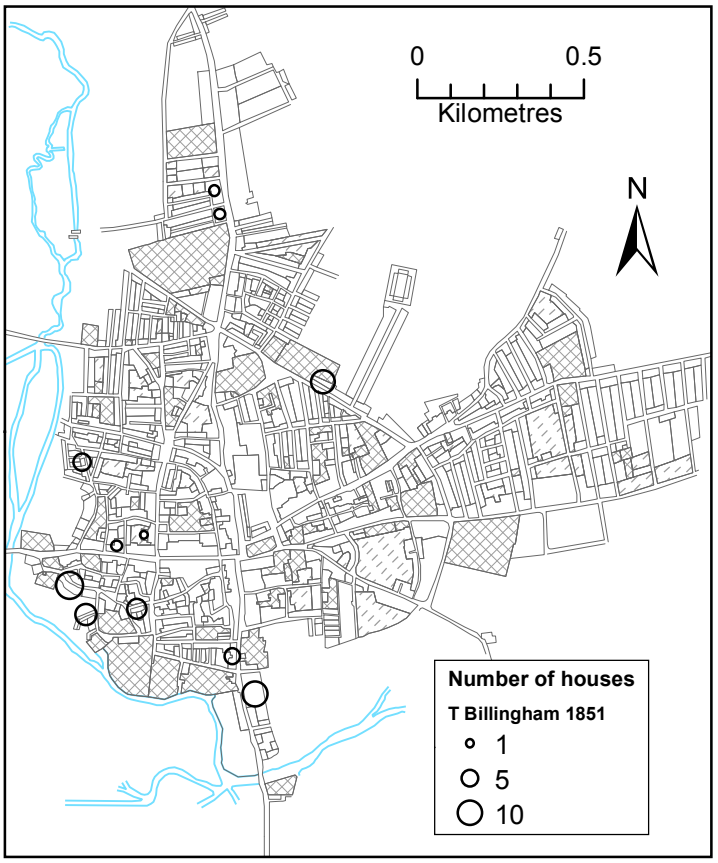


Figure 28c. Thomas Roberts, 58 houses in 1851 (£282.50)

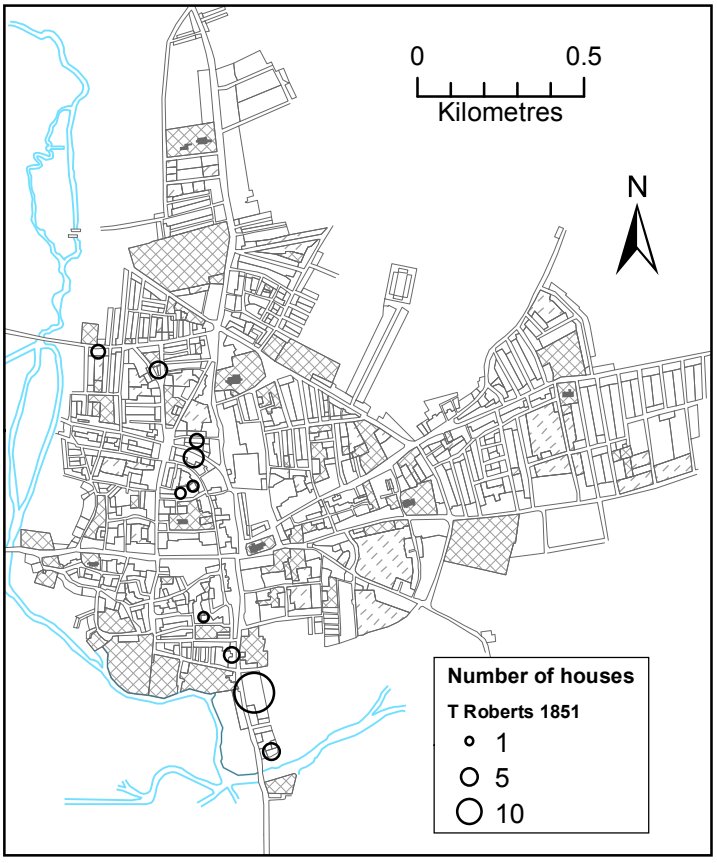
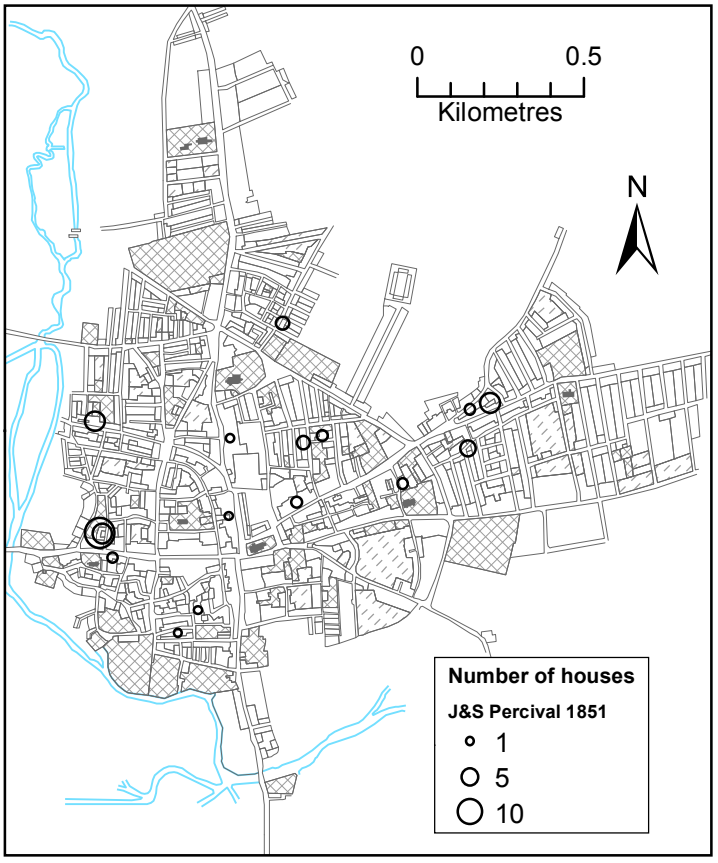


Figure 28d. Jn&Sml.Percival, 56 houses in 1851 (£598.50)



Sources: rate books 1851

Main private owners (5-8) 1851

Figure 29a. George Roberts, 51 houses in 1851 (£303.50)

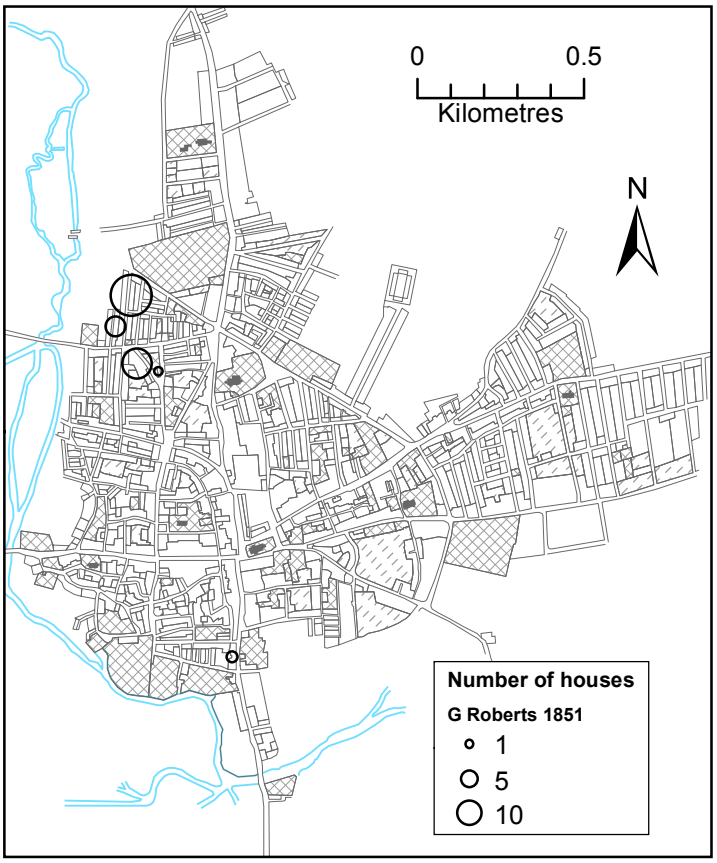


Figure 29b.William Porter, 48 houses in 1851 (£384.00)

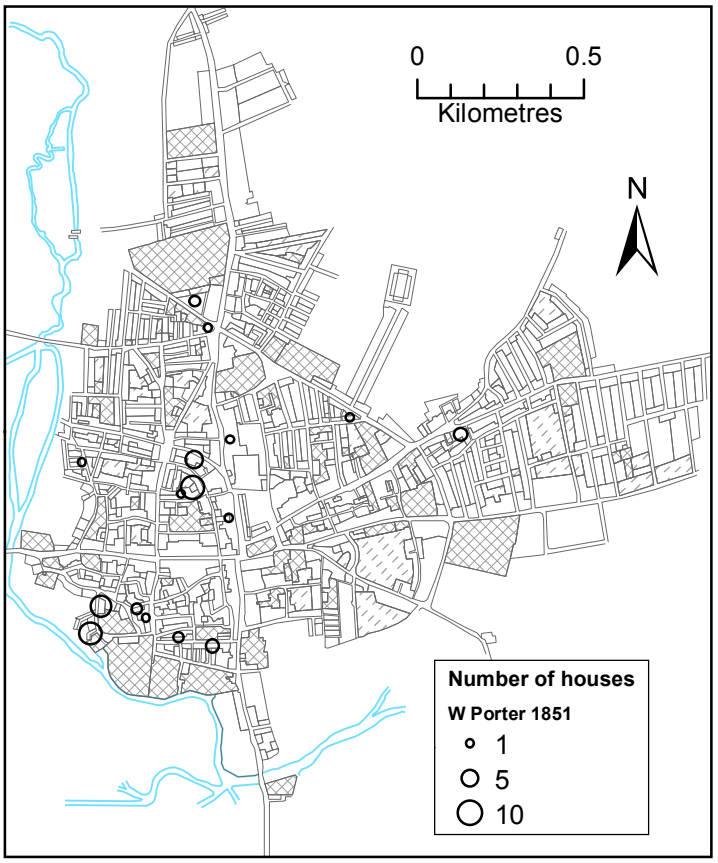


Figure 29c. RJ Scarborough, 44 houses in 1851 (£425.00)

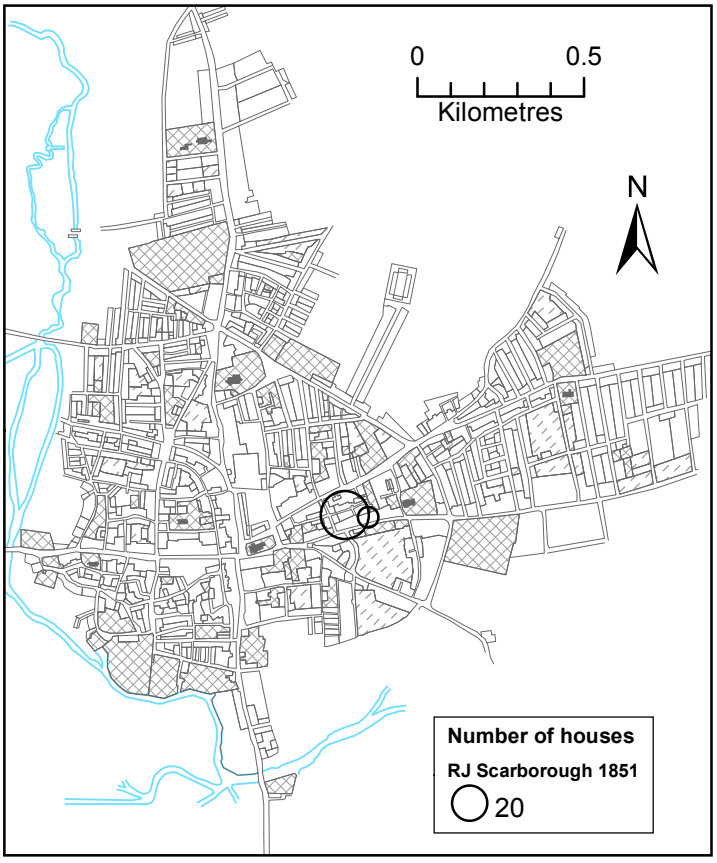
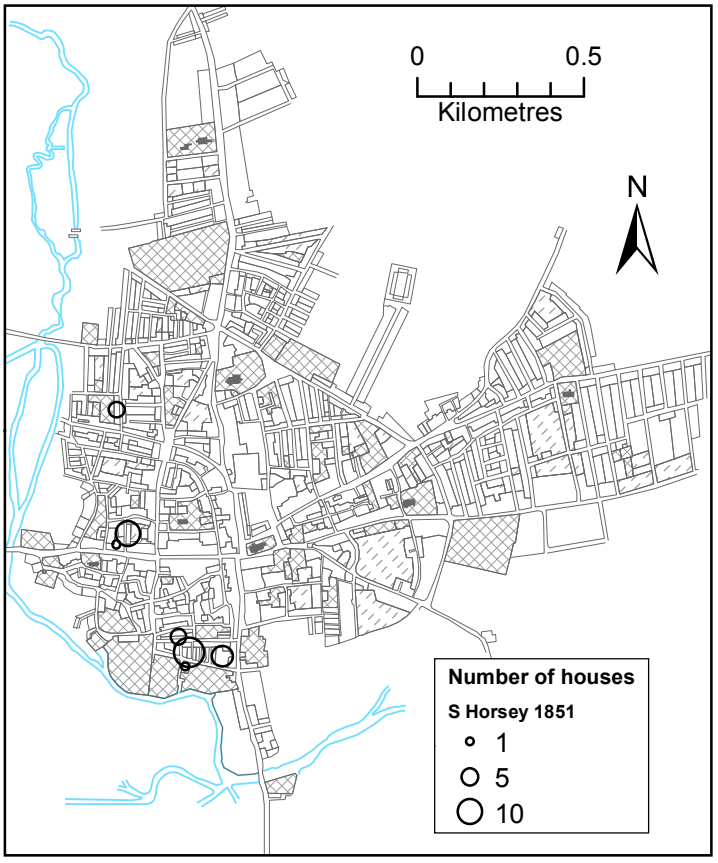


Figure 29d. Samuel Horsey, 42 houses in 1851 (£425.00)



Sources: rate books, 1851

Main private owners (1-4) 1861

Figure 30a. Samuel Walker, 92 houses in 1861 (£726.50)

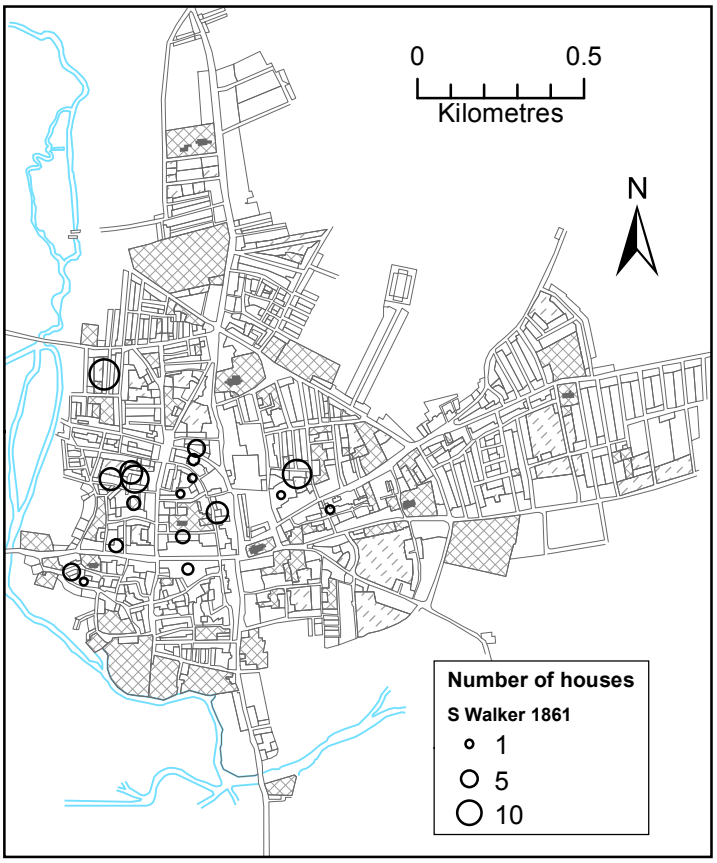


Figure 30b. Jas. Bury Smith, 66 houses in 1861 (£269.00)

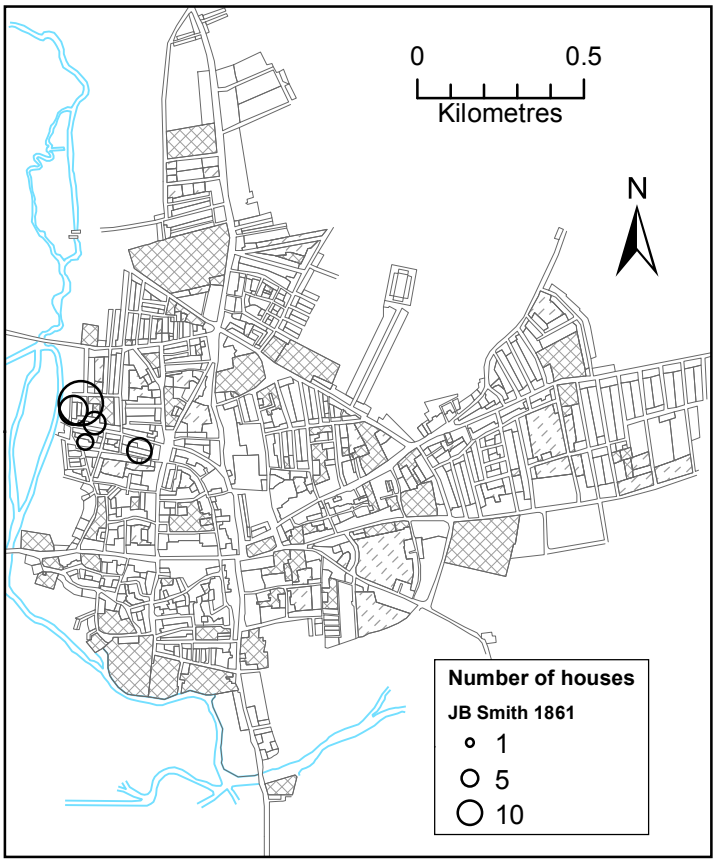


Figure 30c. Hy B Whitworth, 62 houses in 1861 (£627.50)

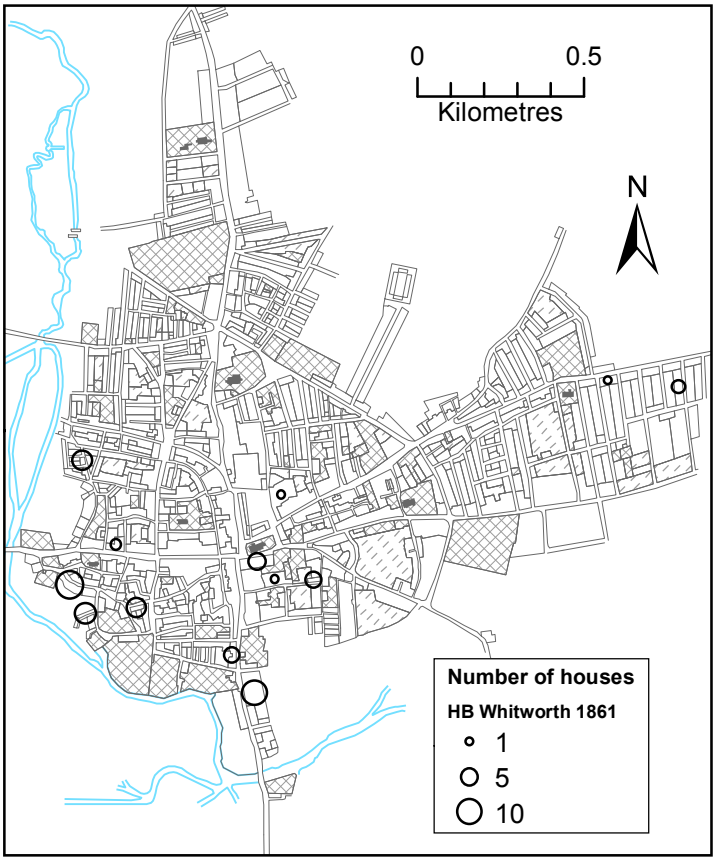
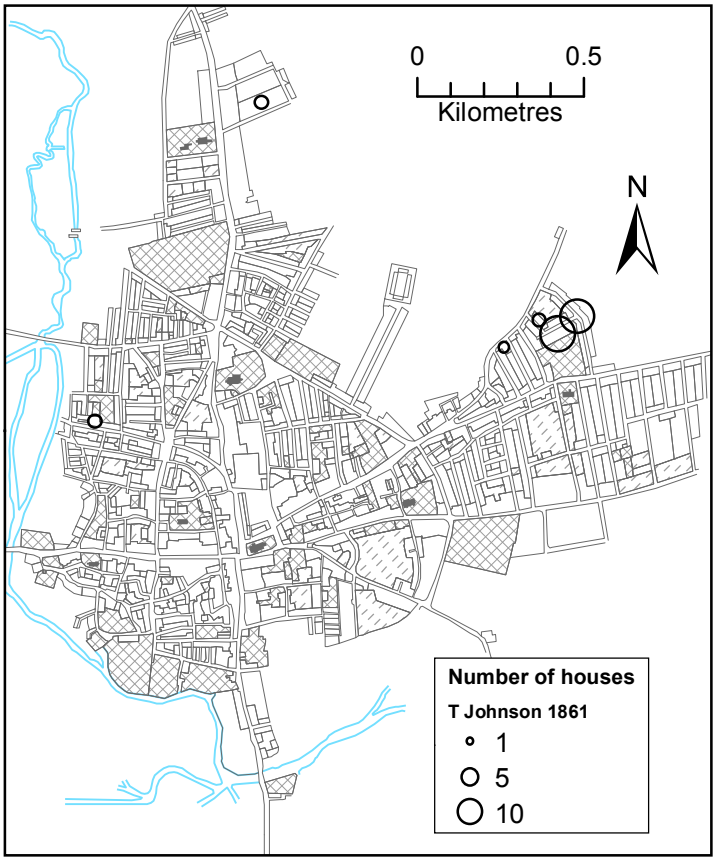


Figure 30d. Thos Johnson, 50 houses in 1861 (£319.50)



Sources: rate books, 1861

Main private owners (5-8) 1861

Figure 31a. Charles Ireson, 49 houses in 1861 (£709.75)

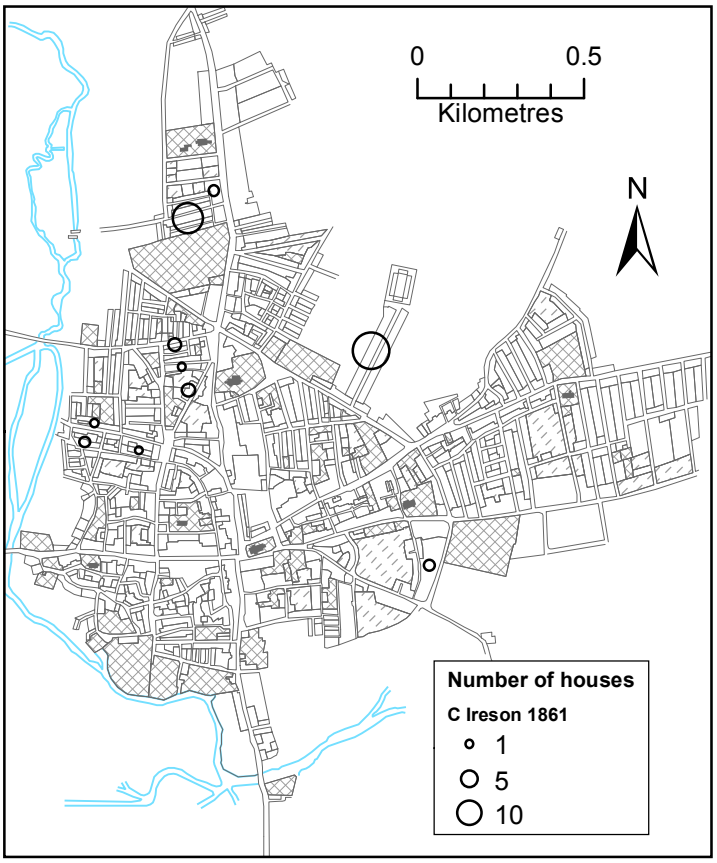


Figure 31b. Esther Wilson, 45 houses in 1861 (£350.00)

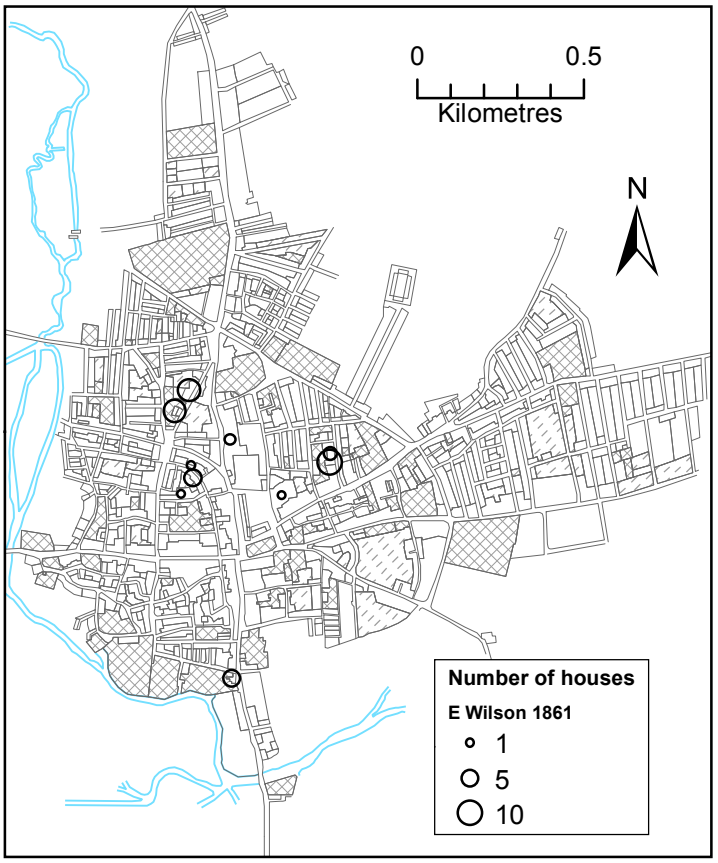


Figure 31c. Thomas Gilbert, 44 houses in 1861 (£251.00)

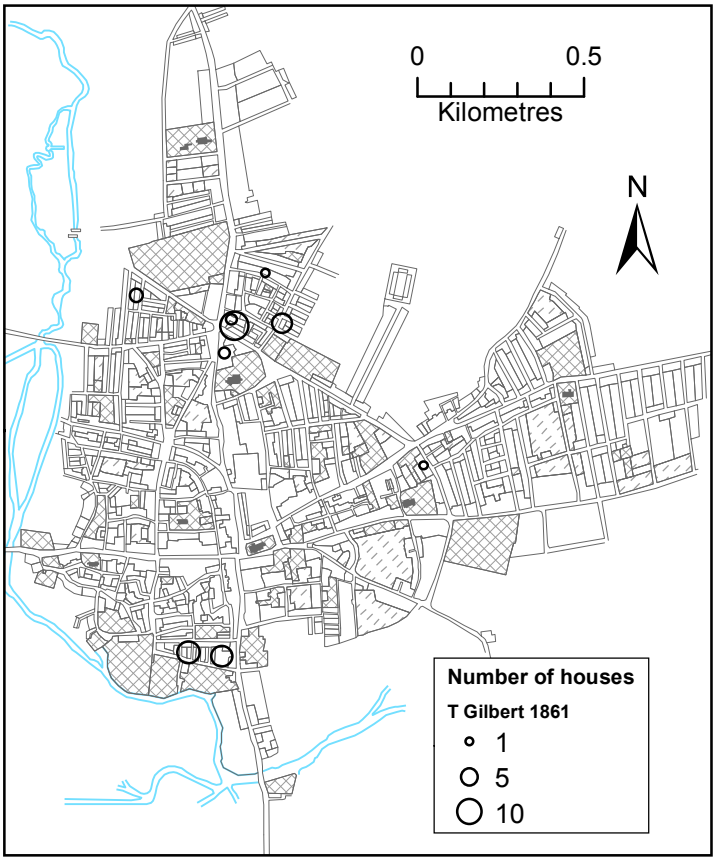
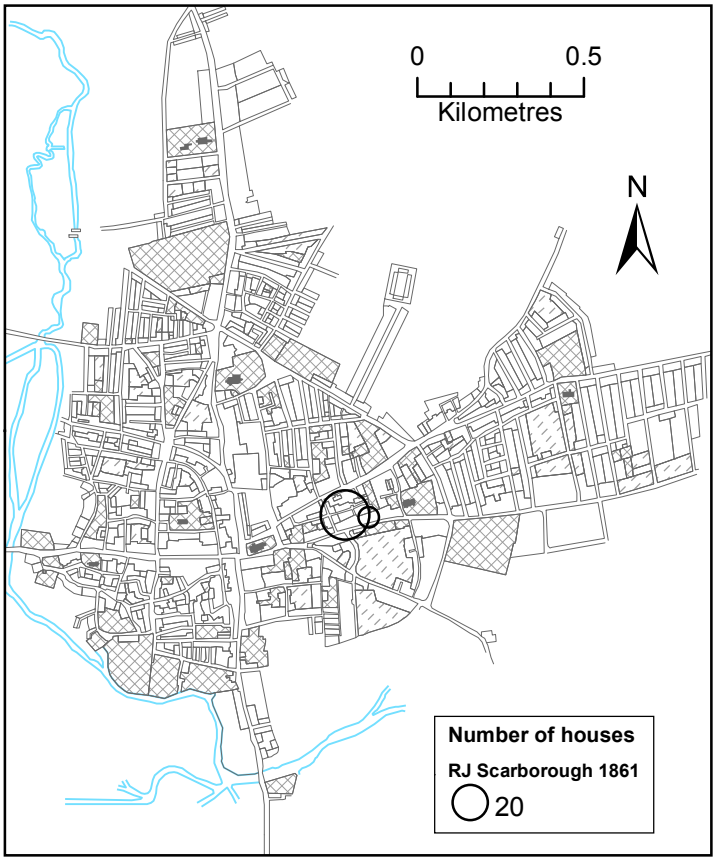


Figure 31d. RJ Scarborough, 43 houses in 1861 (£247.00)



Sources: rate books 1861

Main private owners (1-4), 1871

Figure 32a. Jas. Bury Smith, 68 houses in 1871 (£376.38)

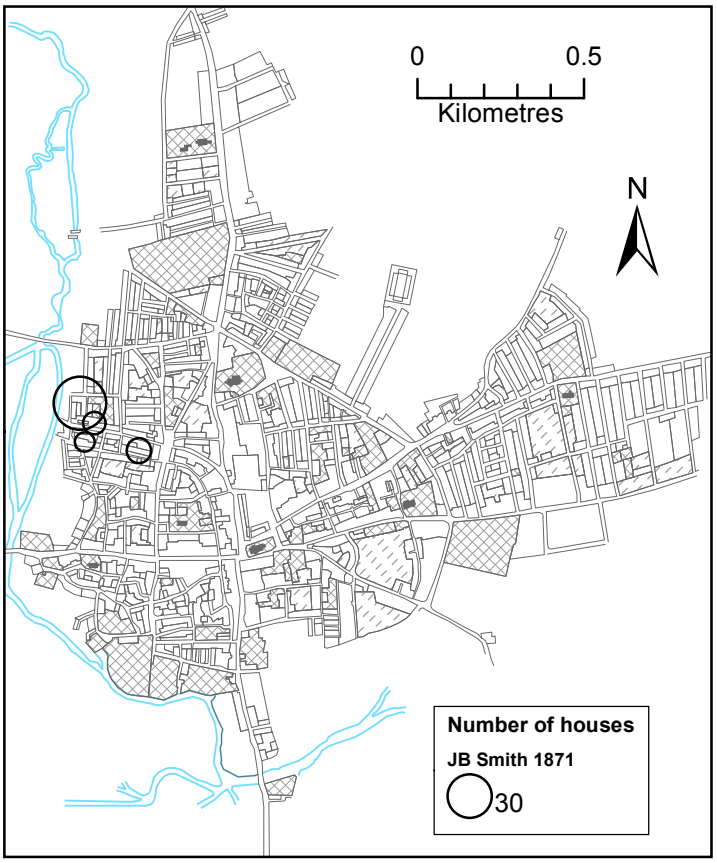


Figure 32b. Stephen Green, 65 houses in 1871 (£359.00)

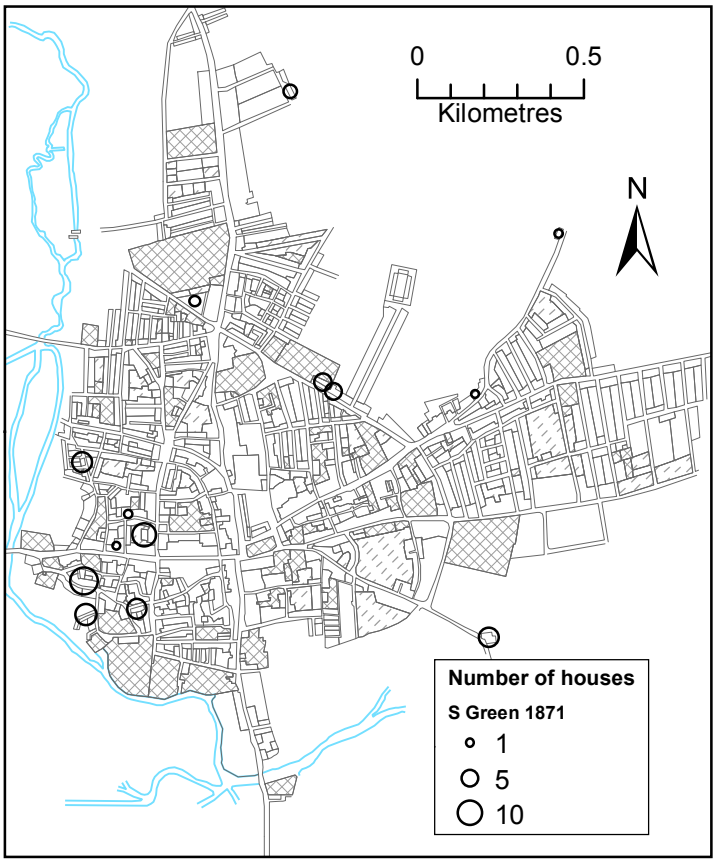


Figure 32c. Henry Marshall, 58 houses in 1871 (£395.38)

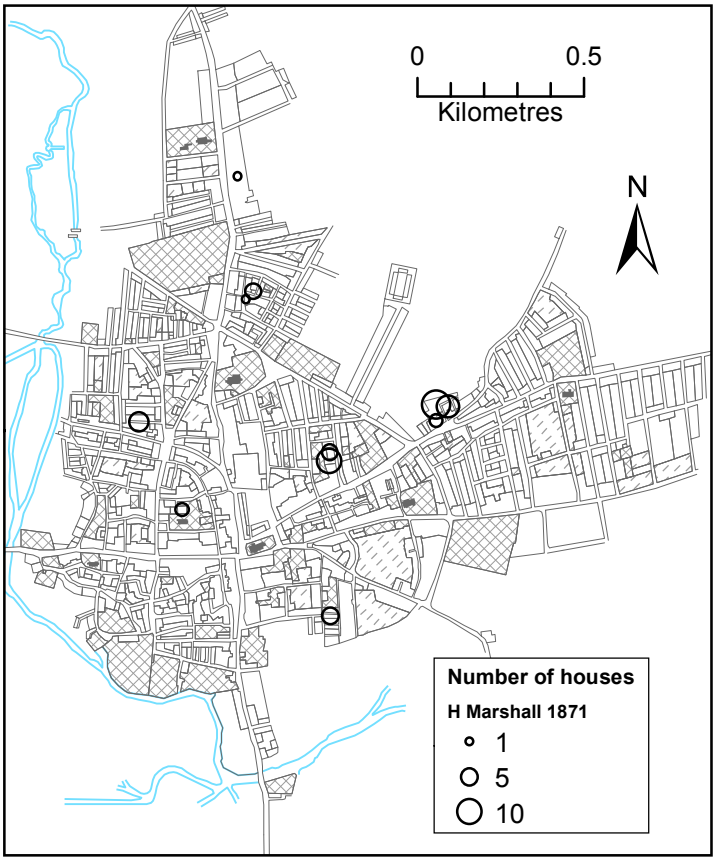
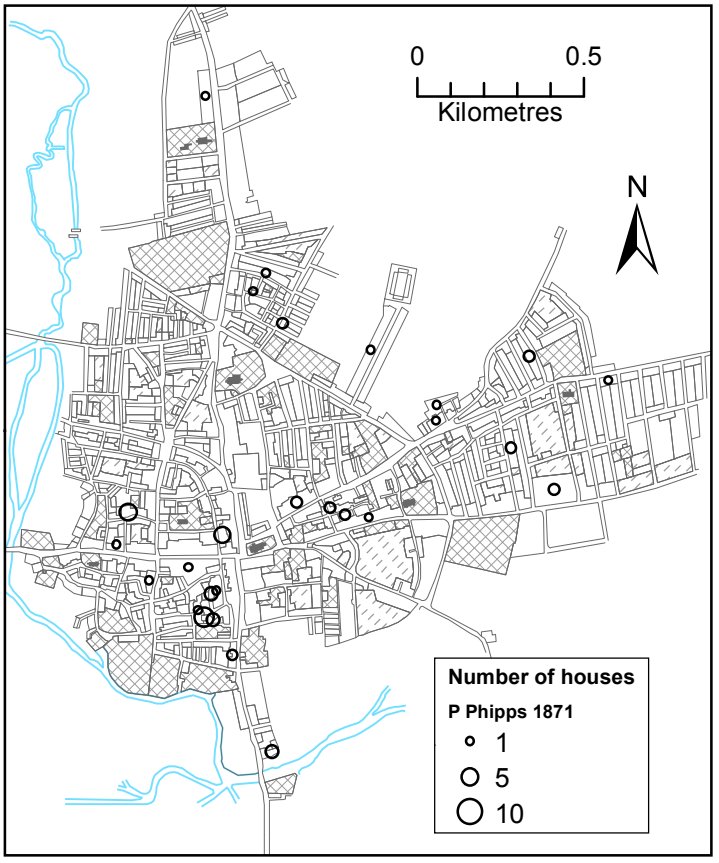


Figure 32d. Pickering Phipps, 53 houses in 1871 (£985.38)



Sources: rate books 1871

Main private owners (5-8), 1871

Figure 33a. J&F Stimpson, 47 houses in 1871 (£589.88)

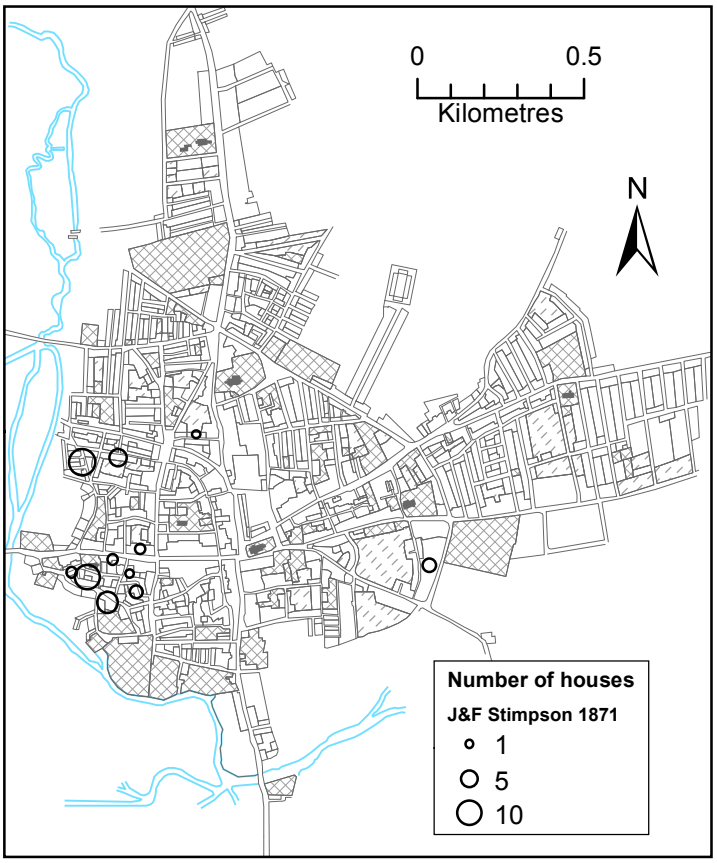


Figure 33b. John Watkin, 47 houses in 1871 (£609.25)

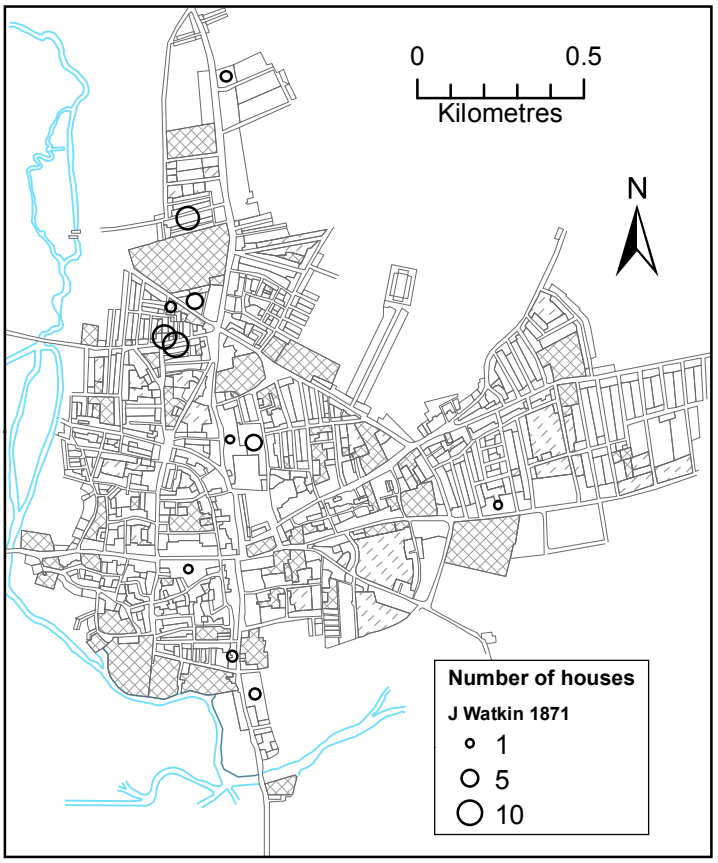


Figure 33c. RJ Scarborough, 43 houses in 1871 (£239.00)

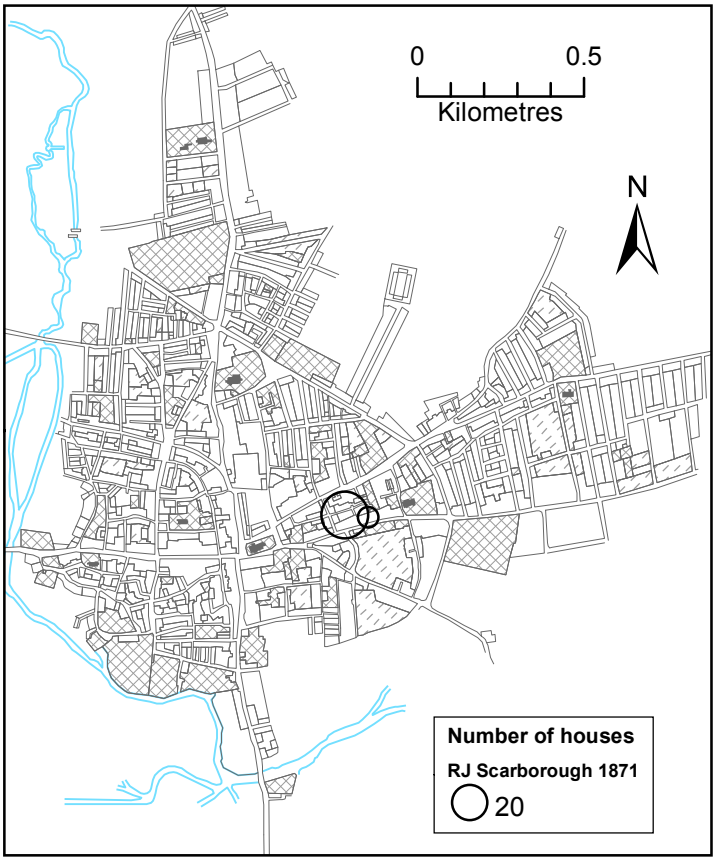
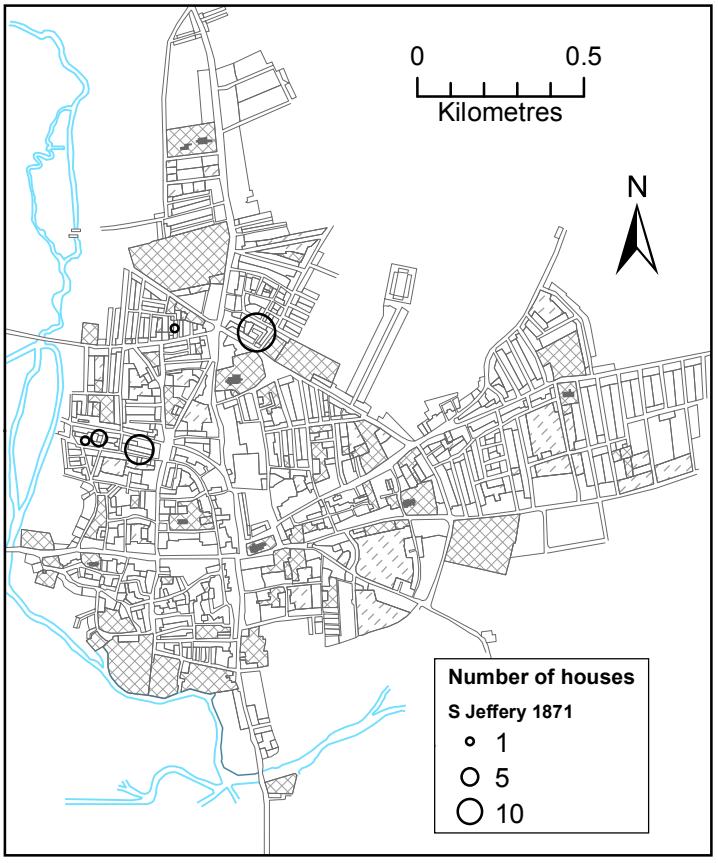
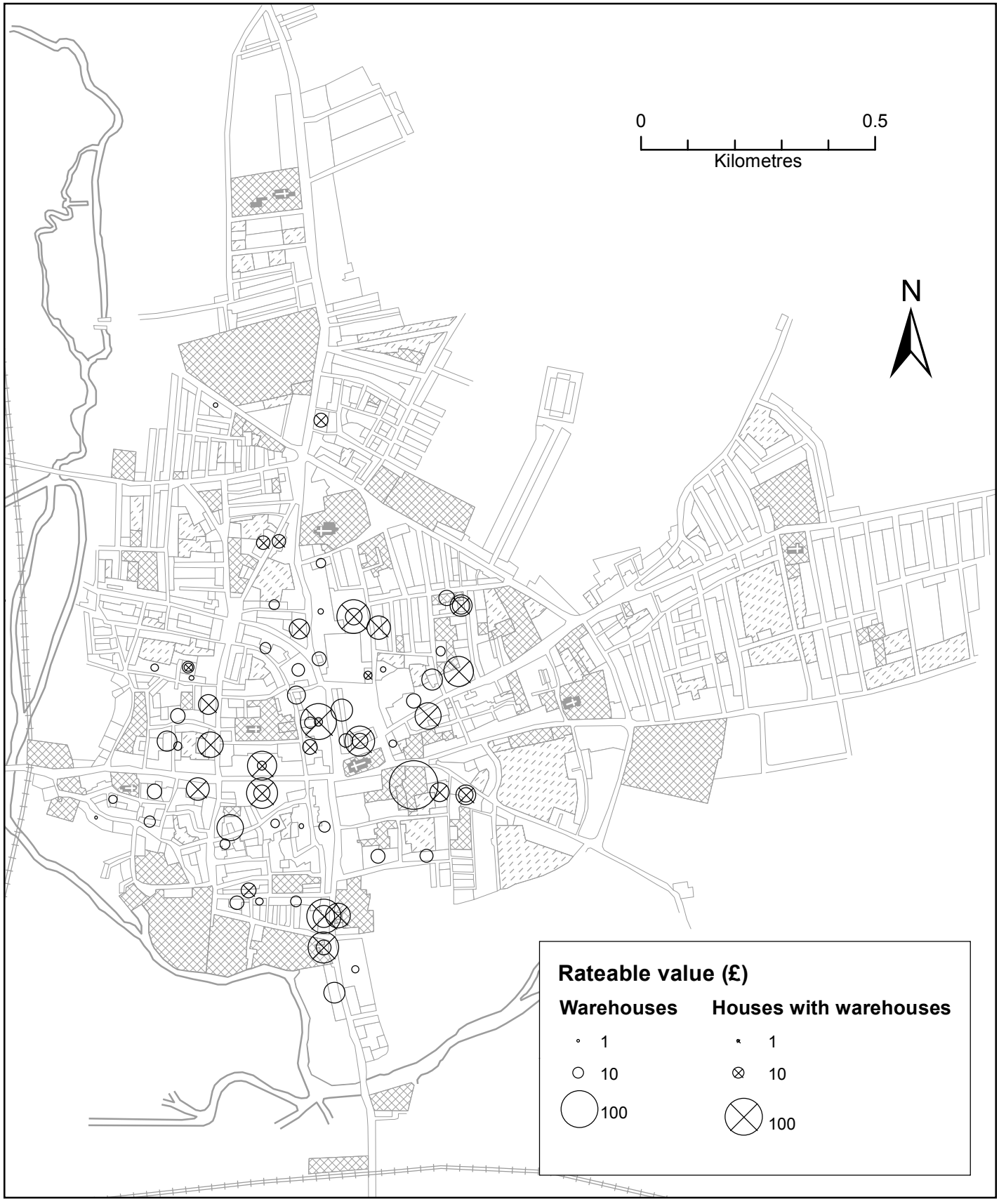


Figure 33d. Sarah Jeffery, 41 houses in 1871 (£158.50)



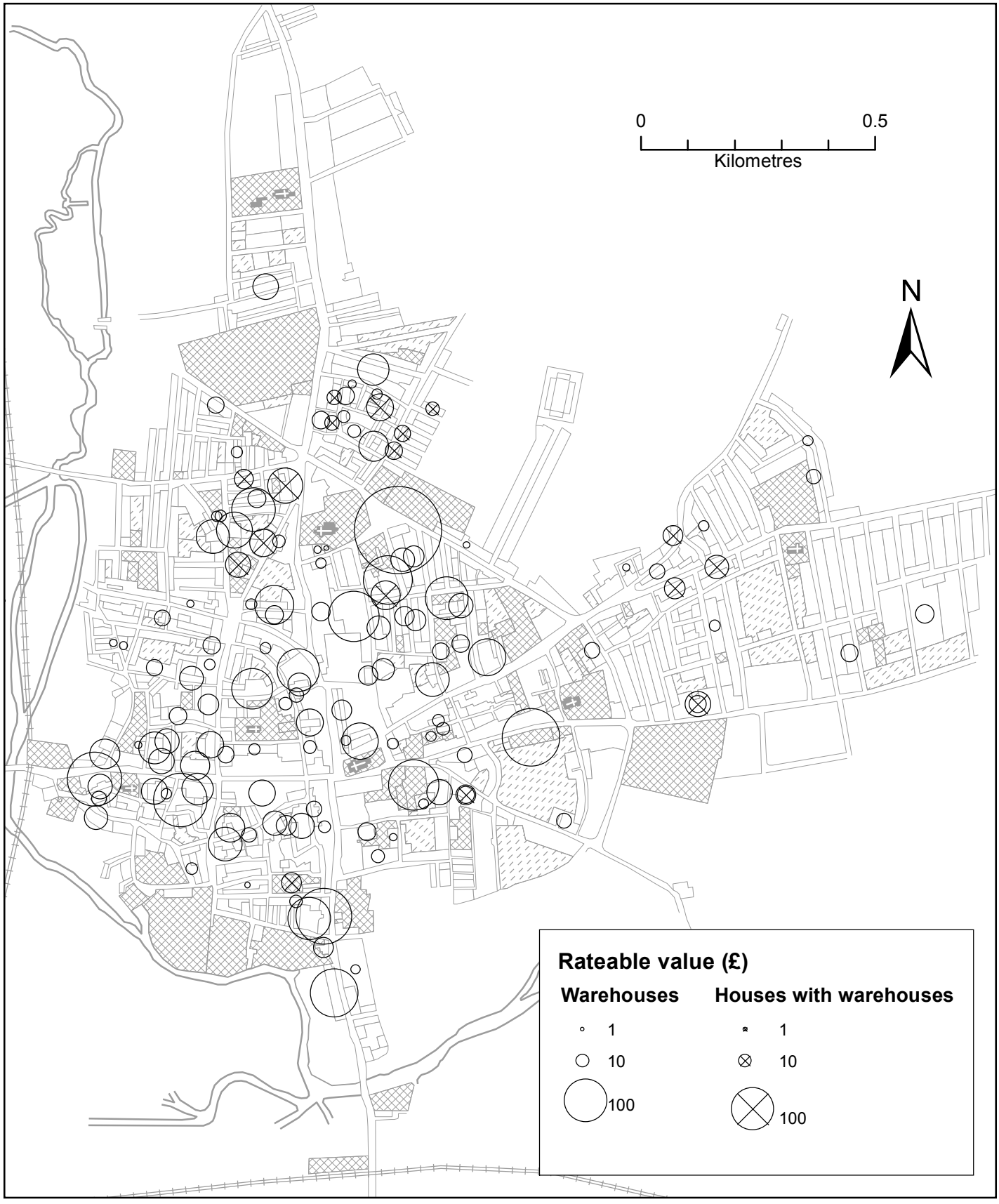
Sources: rate books 1871

Warehouses and Houses with Warehouses (by location and rateable value) 1844



Source: rate books

Warehouses and Houses with Warehouses (by location and rateable value) 1871



Source: rate books

Figure 36. Trade entries in 1869, % of total inhabitants, 1871

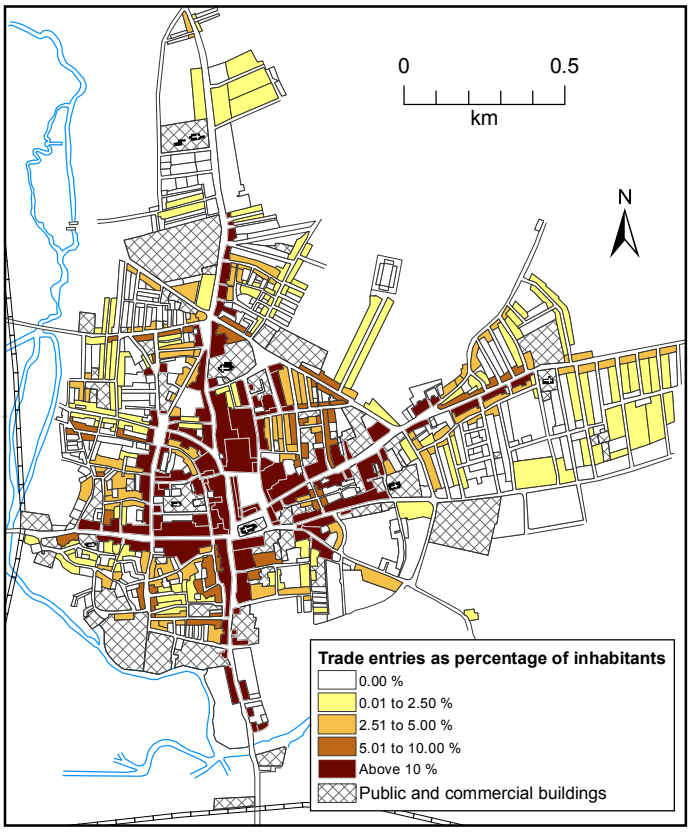


Figure 37. Specialist retailers, 1869

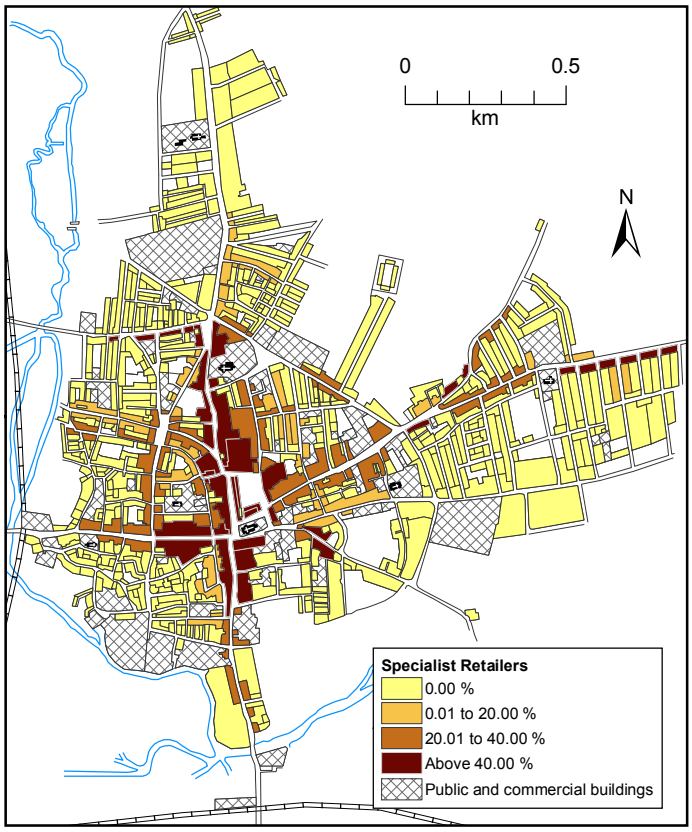


Figure 38. Craftsmen and non-shoe manufacturers, 1869

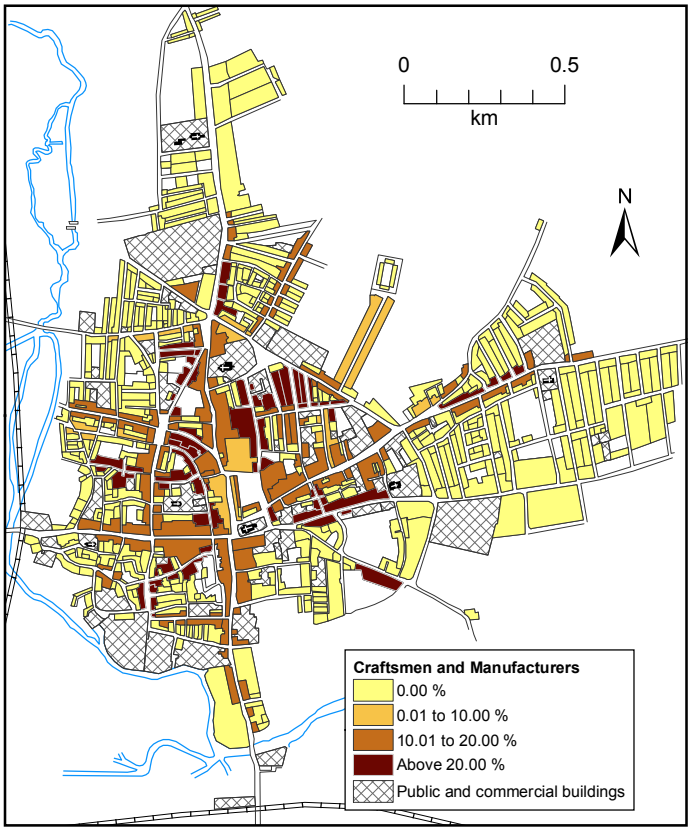
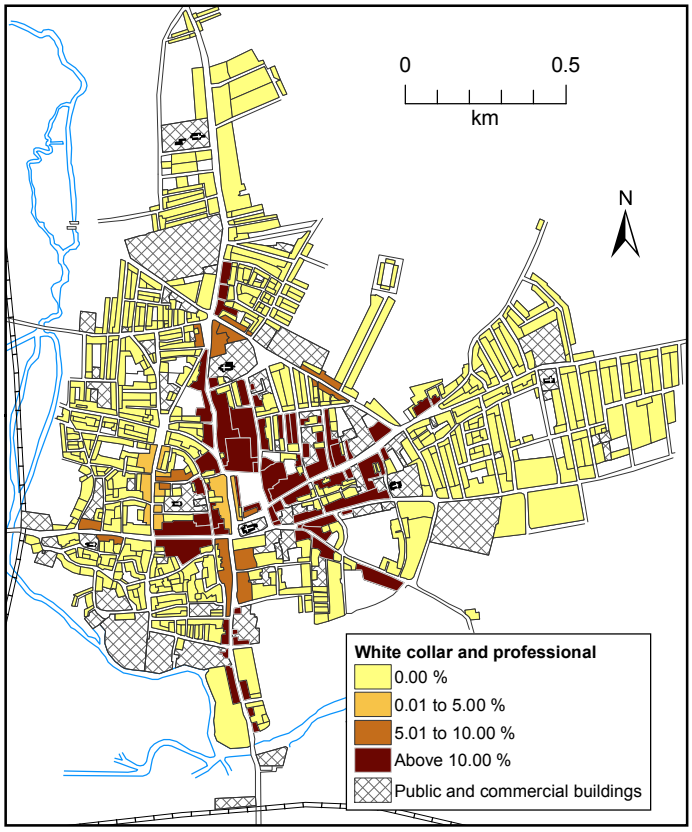


Figure 39. White-collar and professionals, 1869



Sources: 1869 directory and 1871 census
Note: Categories are defined in the text on pages 151-2

Figure 40. Distribution of trade entries, 1869

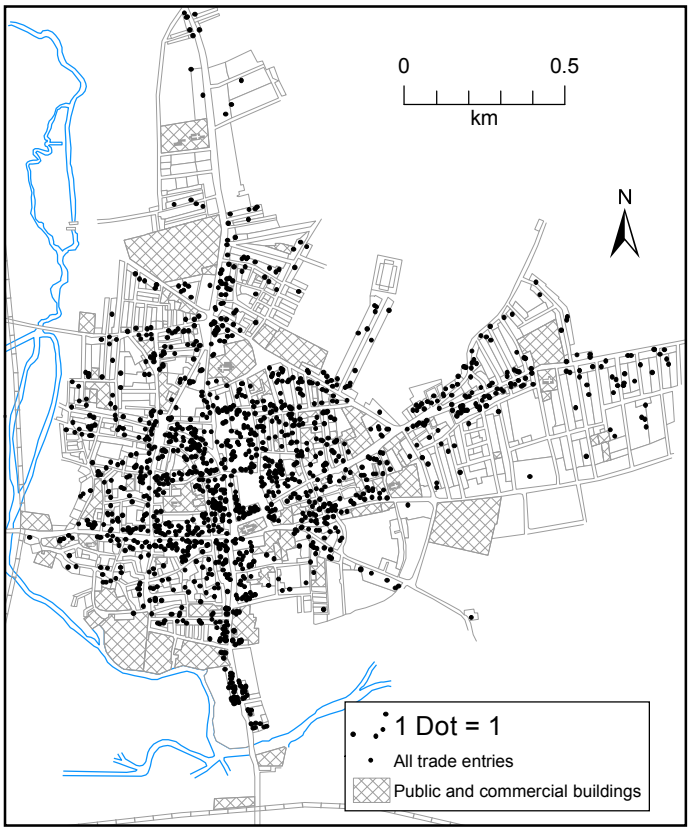


Figure 41. Distribution of specialist retailers, 1869

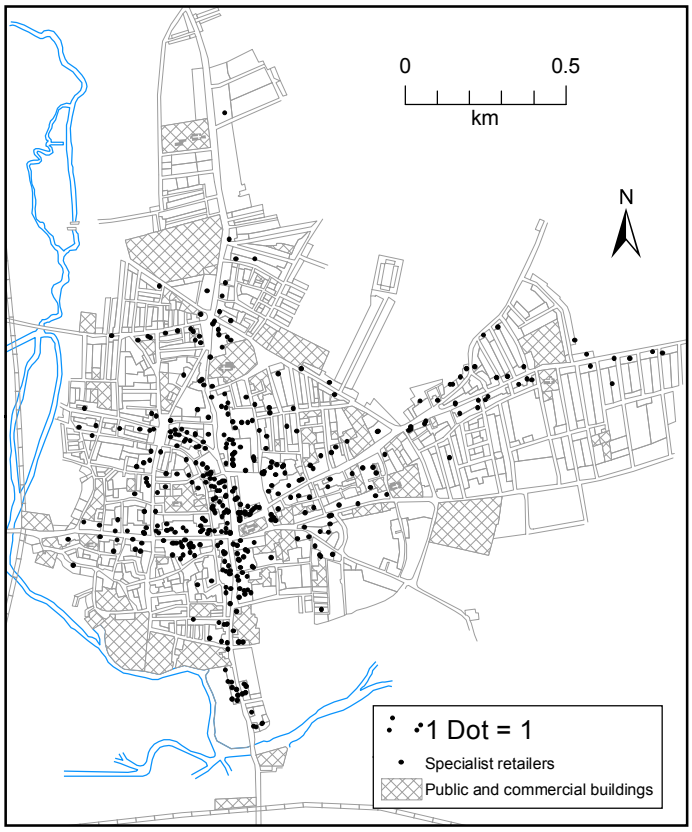


Figure 42. Distribution of manufacturers and craftsmen, 1869

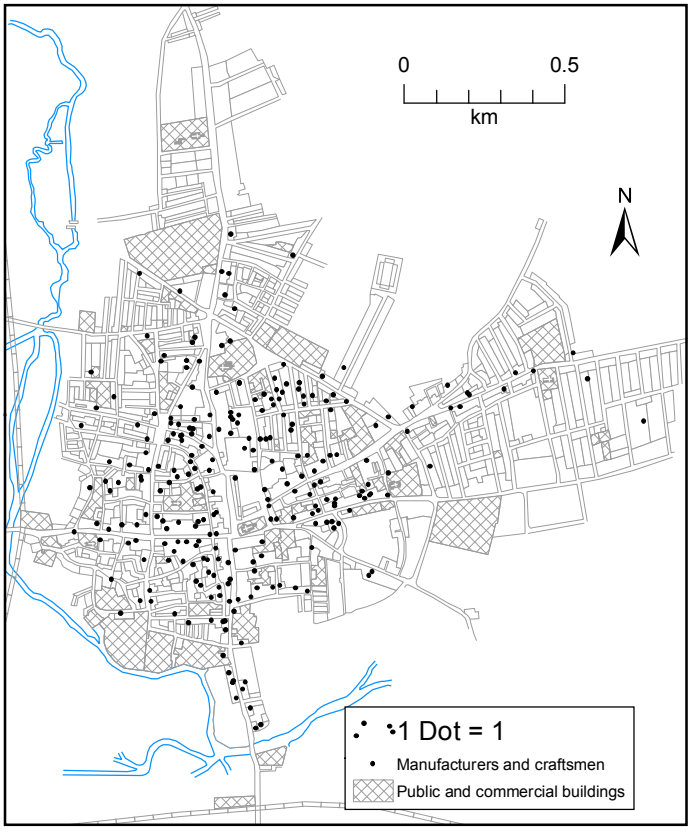
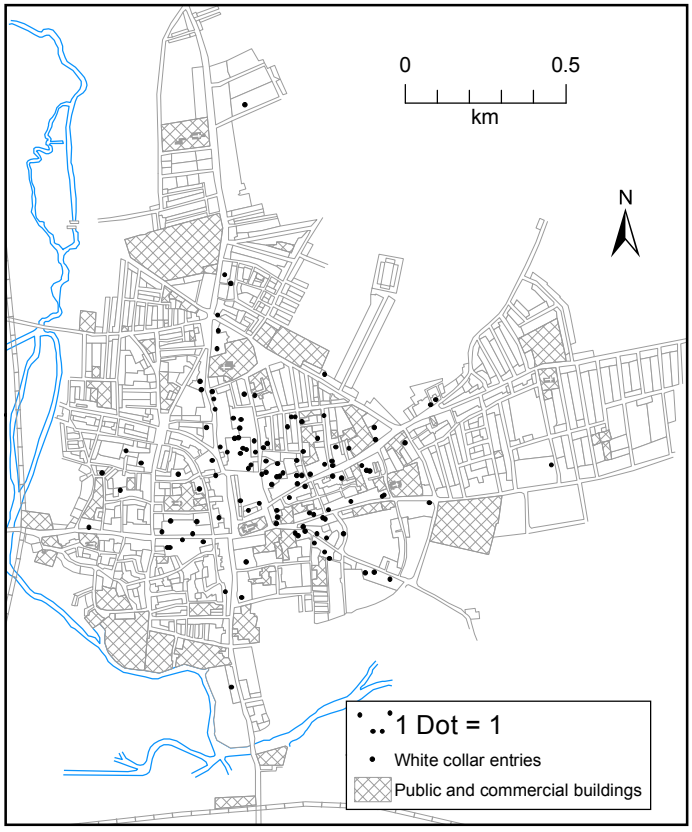


Figure 43. Distribution of white collar and professionals, 1869



Sources: 1869 directory and 1871 census.
Note: Categories are defined in the text on pages 151-2

Figure 44. Distribution of general shopkeepers, 1869

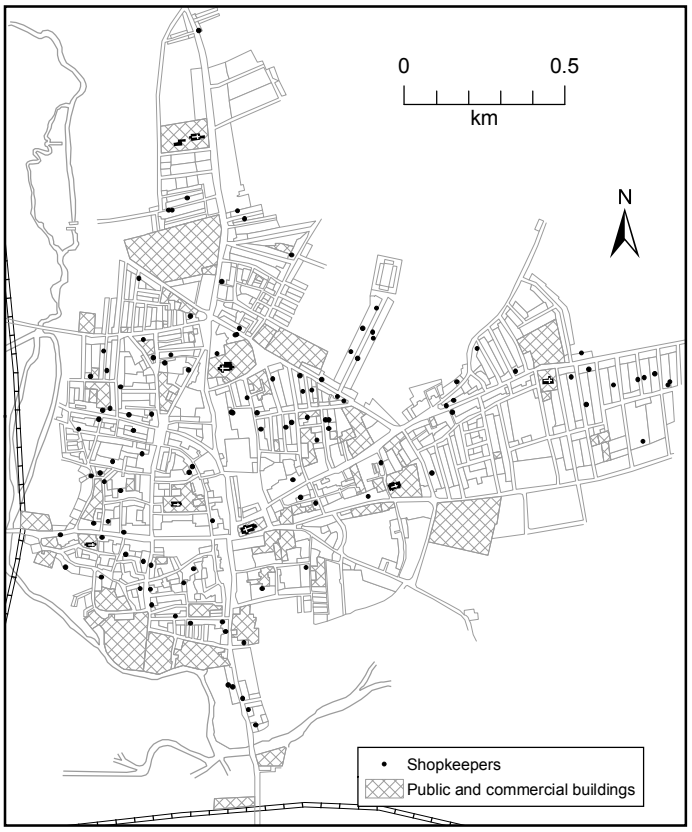


Figure 45. Distribution of butchers, 1869

Figure 46. Distribution of beer-sellers, 1869

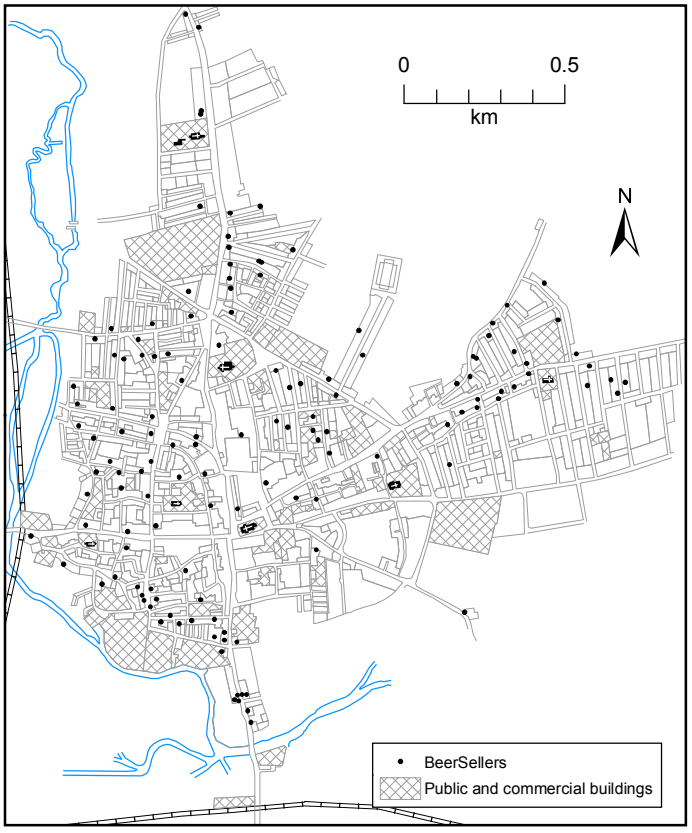
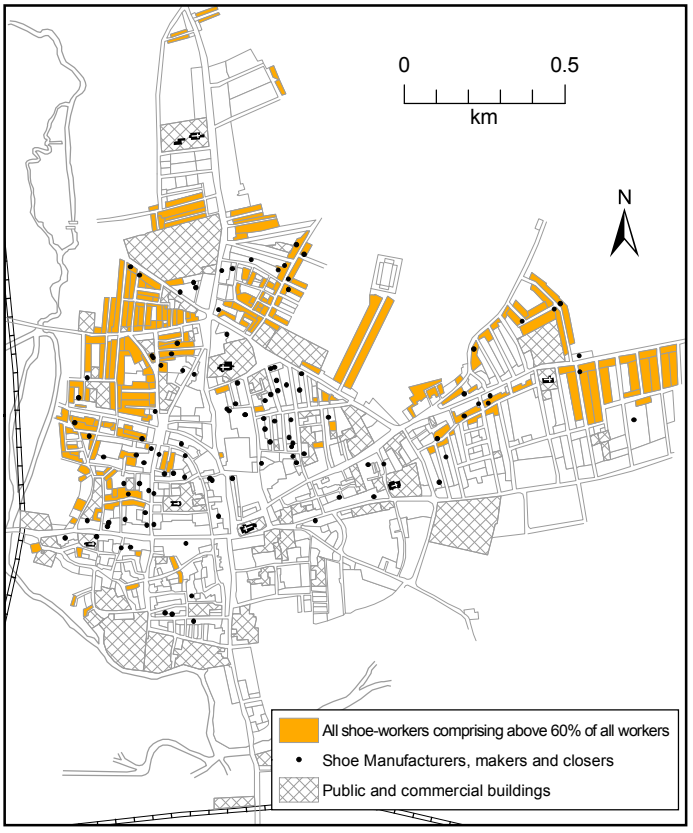


Figure 47. Distribution of shoe-manufacturers and closers, 1869



Sources: 1869 directory and 1871 census
Note: Categories are defined in the text on pages 151-2

Figure 48a. Northampton population aged under 16 years, 1851

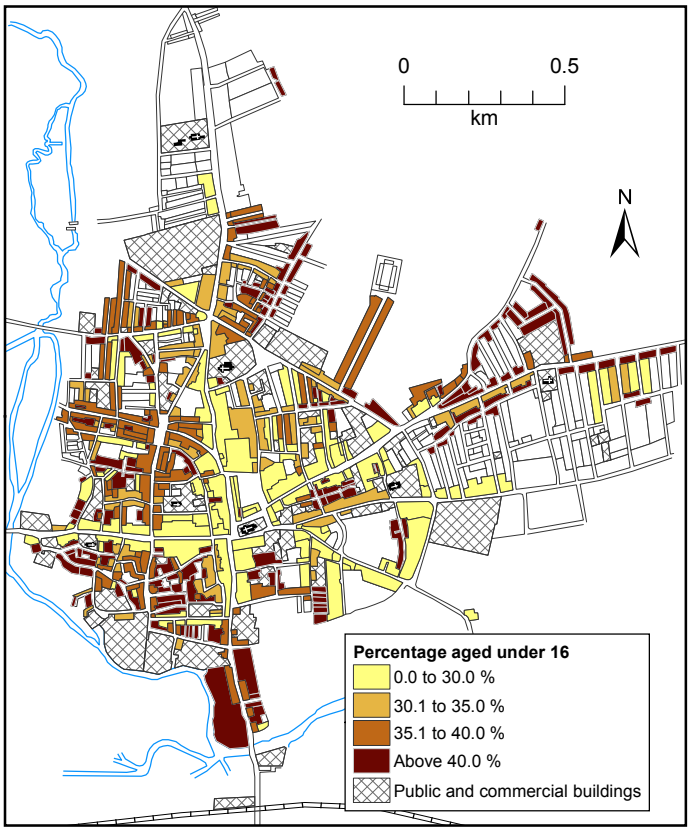


Figure 48b. Northampton population aged under 18 years. 1851

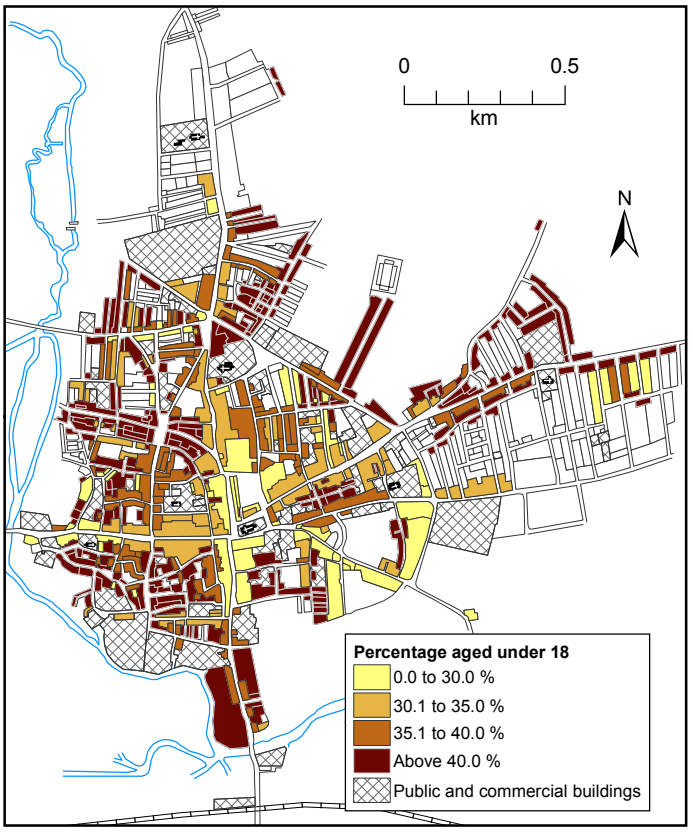


Figure 49. Gender balance, 1871

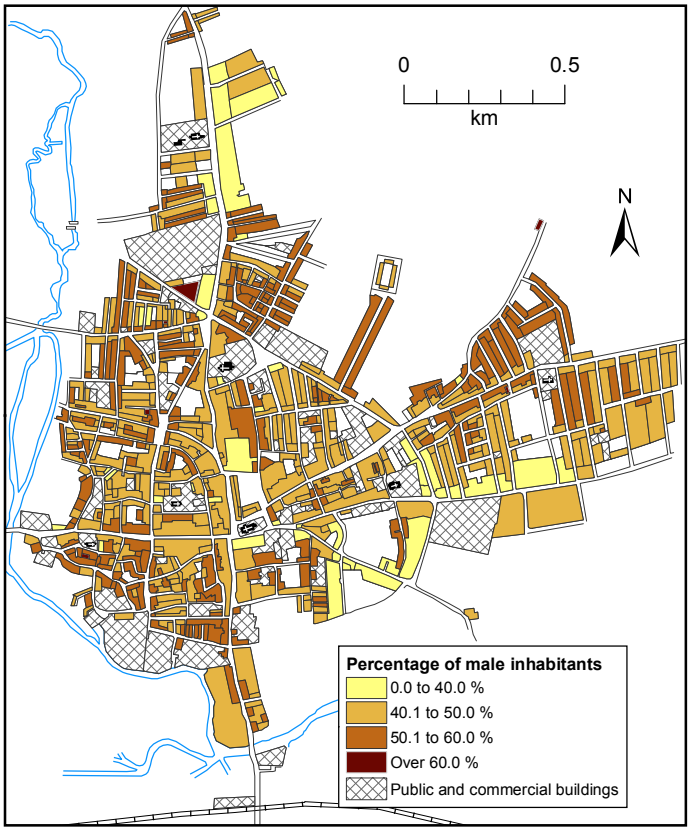
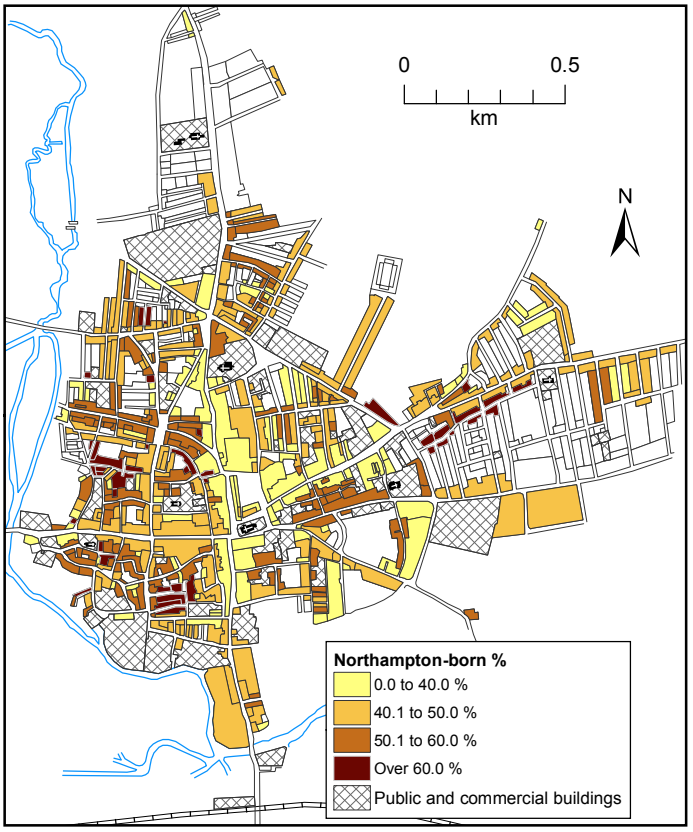


Figure 50. Percentage of population born in Northampton, 1851



Sources: 1851 and 1871 censuses.

Figure 51. Percentage of population born in Northampton, 1871

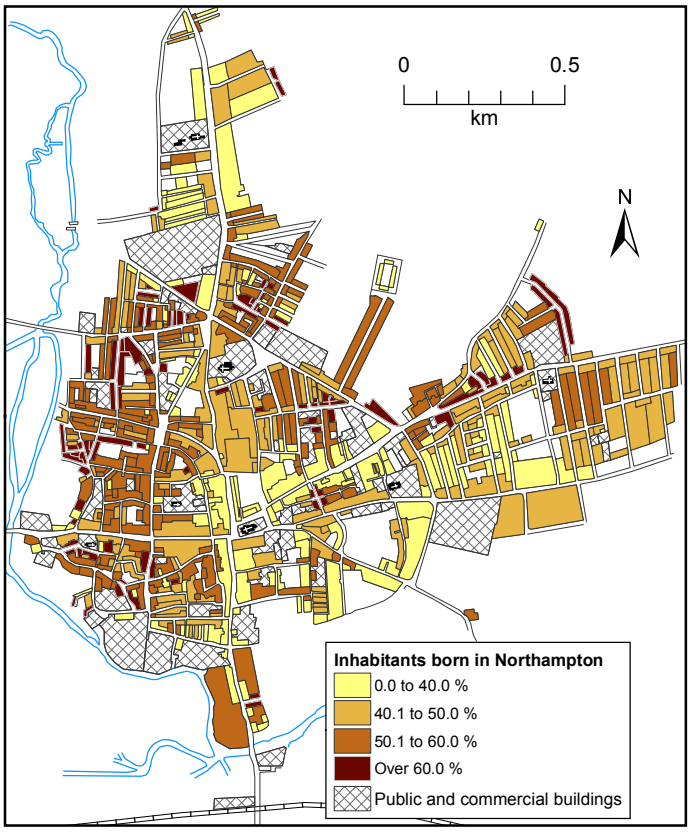


Figure 52. Percentage of inhabitants born in villages, 1871

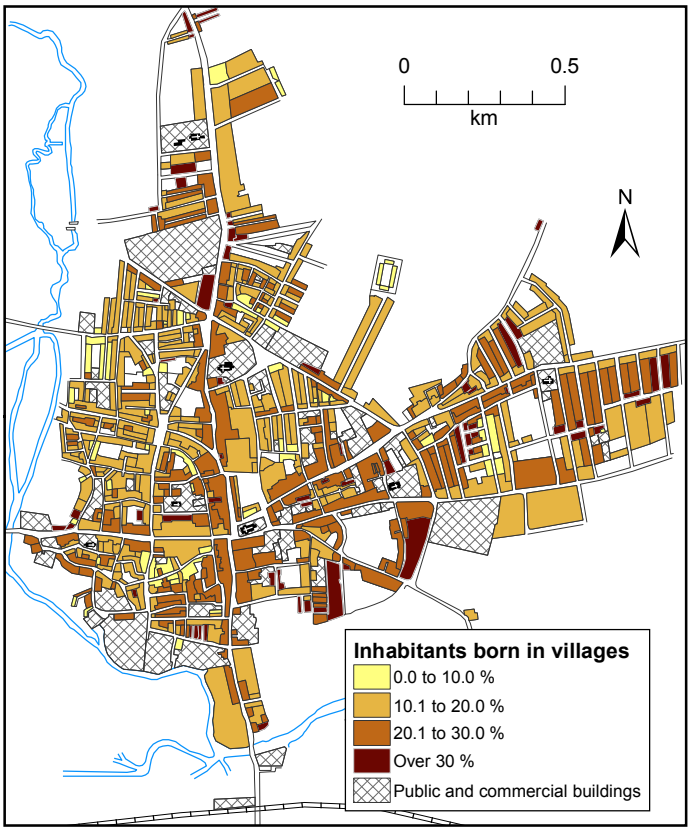
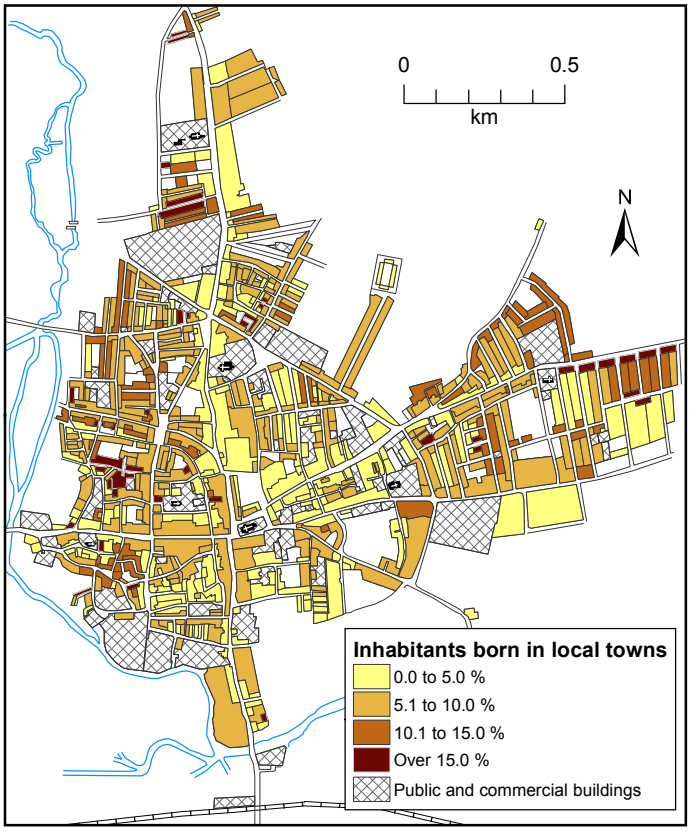
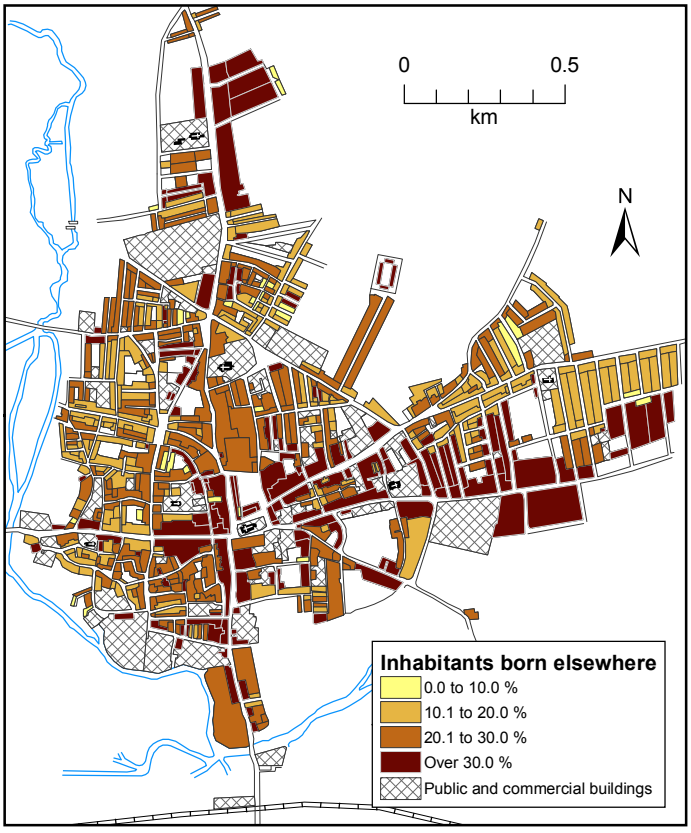


Figure 53. Percentage of inhabitants born in local towns, 1871



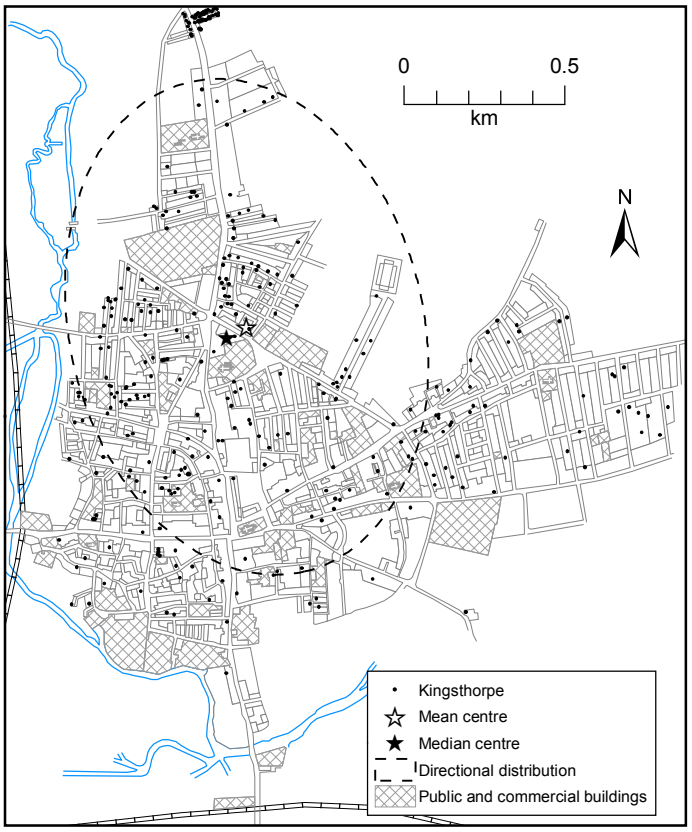
Fgure 54. Percentage of inhabitants born elsewhere, 1871



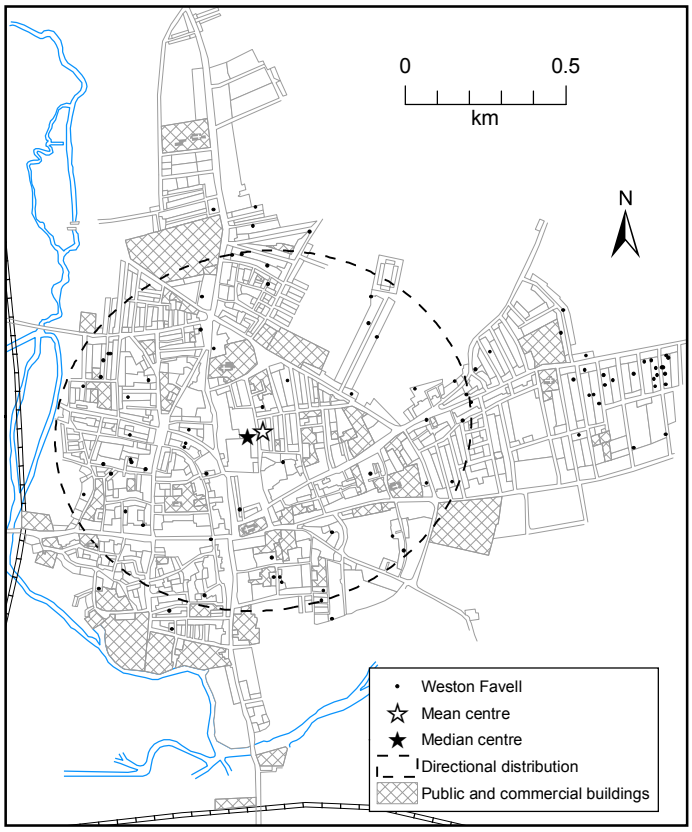
Sources: 1871 census.

Figure 55

a. Incomers born in Kingsthorpe, 1871

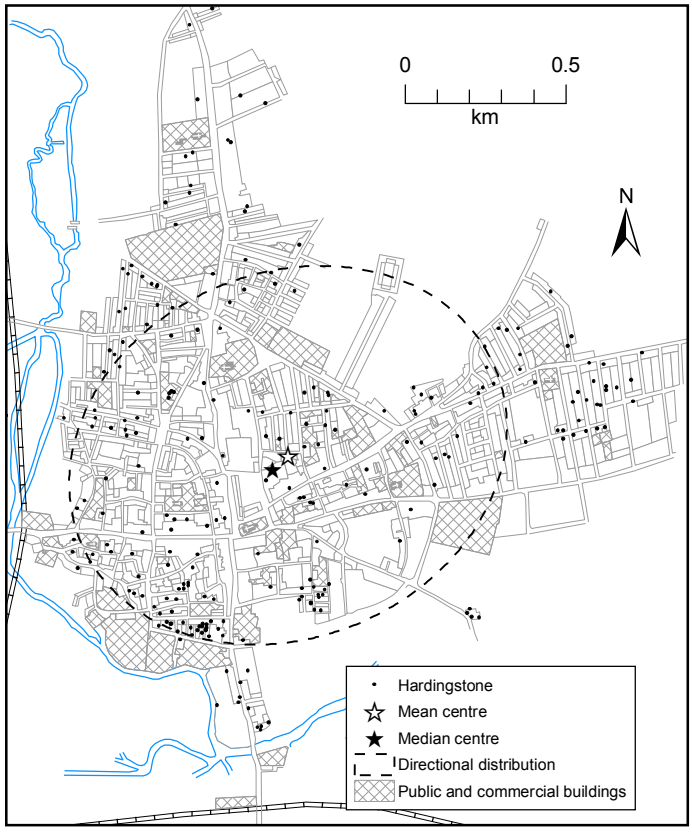


b. Incomers born in Weston Favell, 1871



c. Incomers born in Duston, 1871

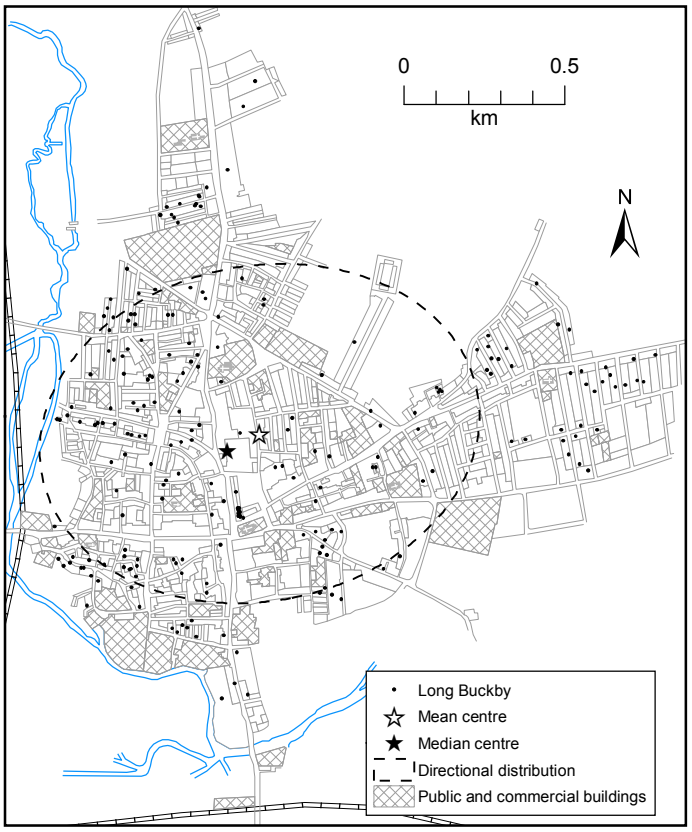
d. Incomers born in Hardingstone, 1871



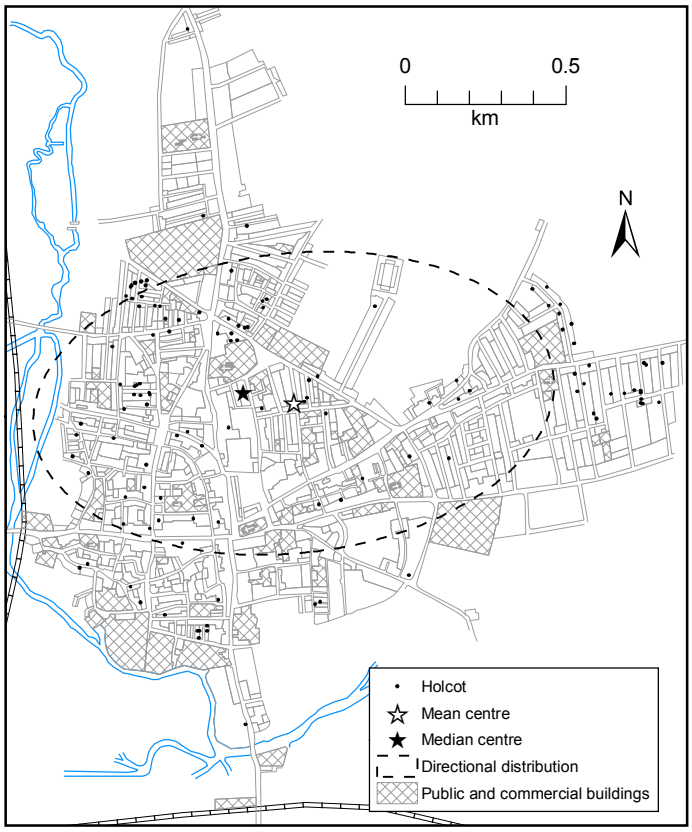
Sources: 1871 census.

Figure 56

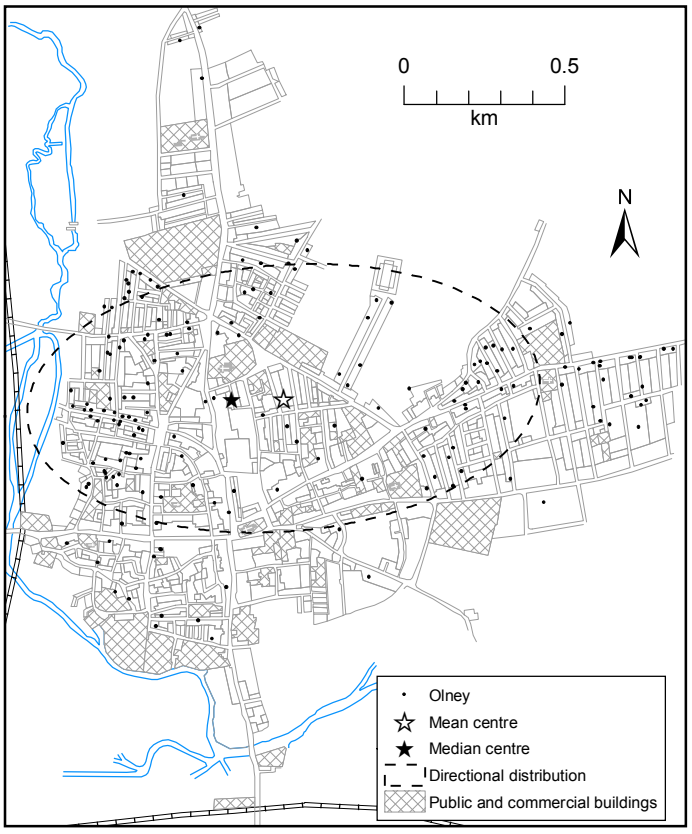
a. Incomers born in Long Buckby, 1871



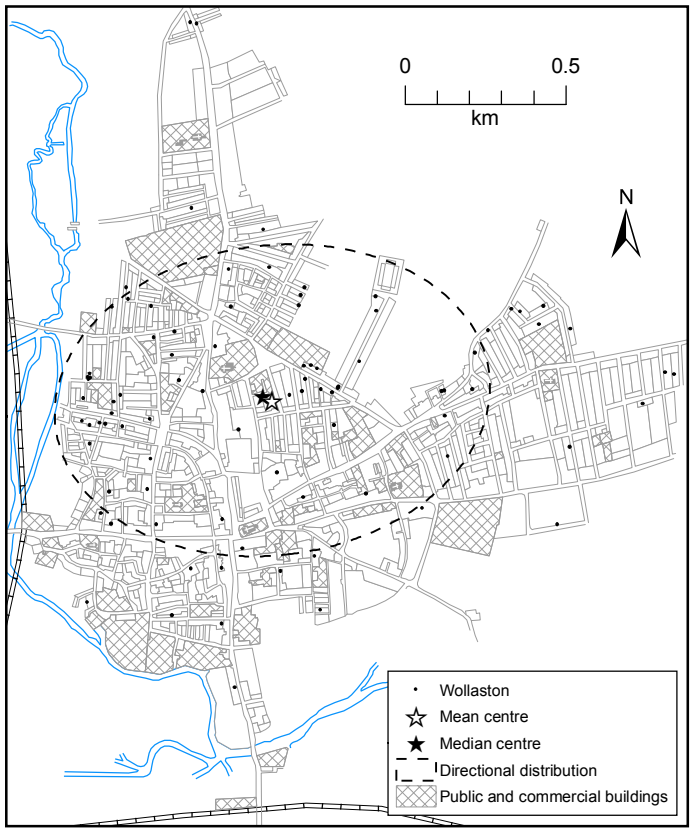
b. Incomers born in Holcot, 1871



c. Incomers born in Olney, 1871



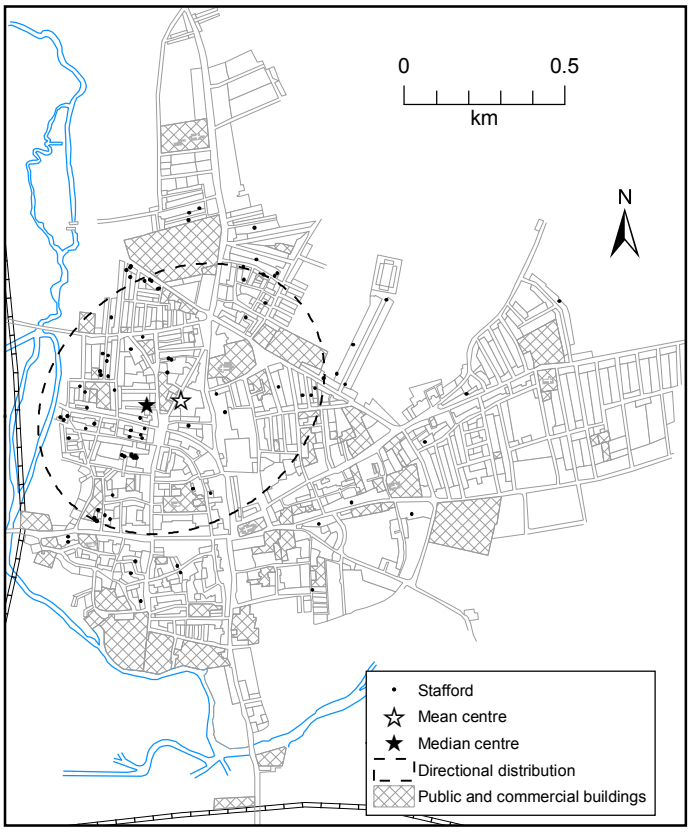
d. Incomers born in Wollaston,1871



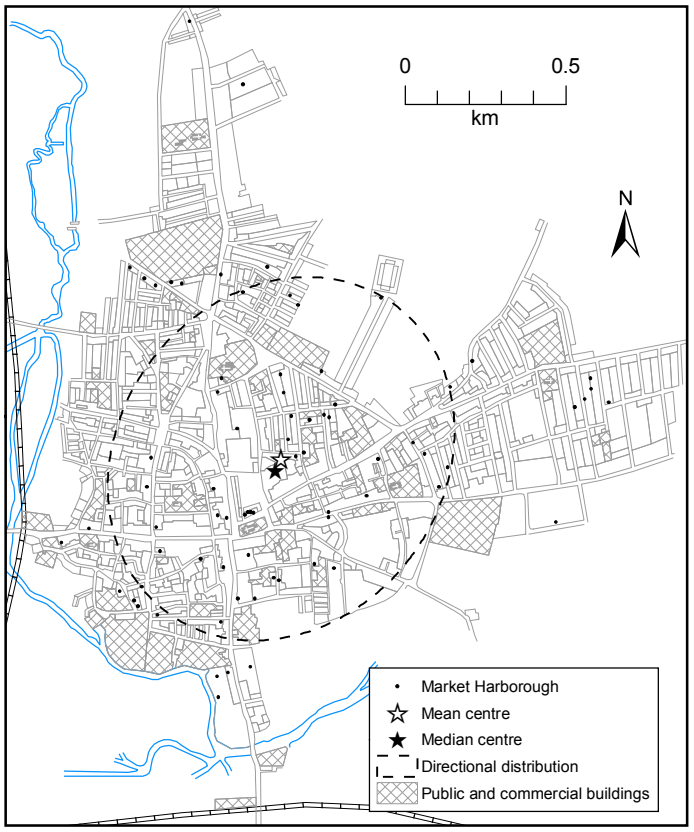
Sources: 1871 census.

Figure 57

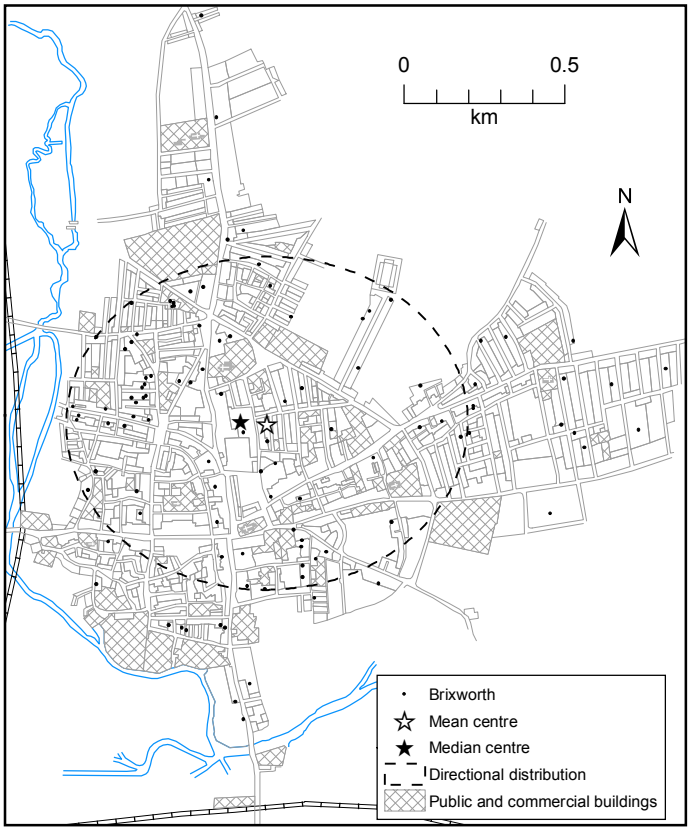
a. Incomers born in Stafford, 1871



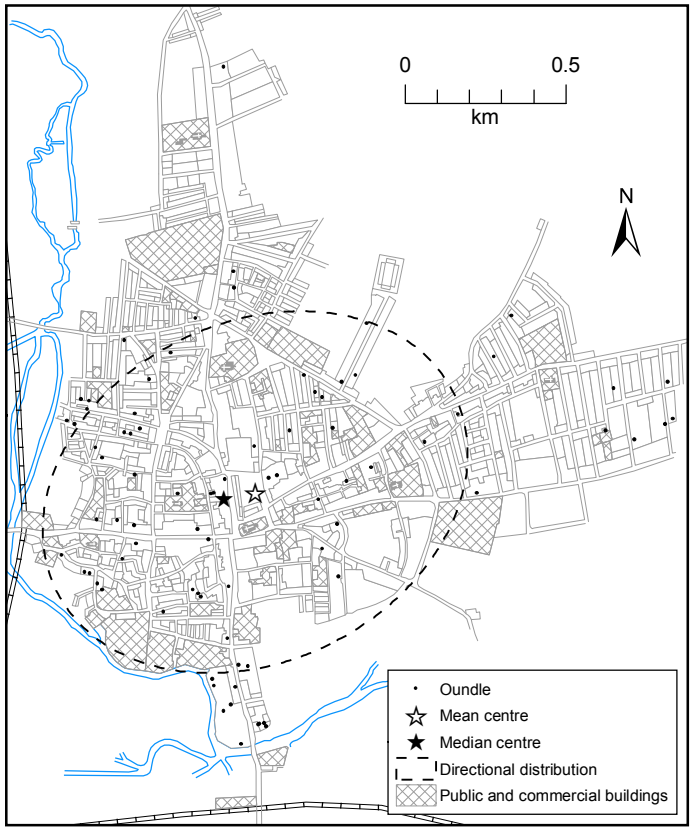
b. Incomers born in Market Harborough, 1871



c. Incomers born in Brixworth, 1871



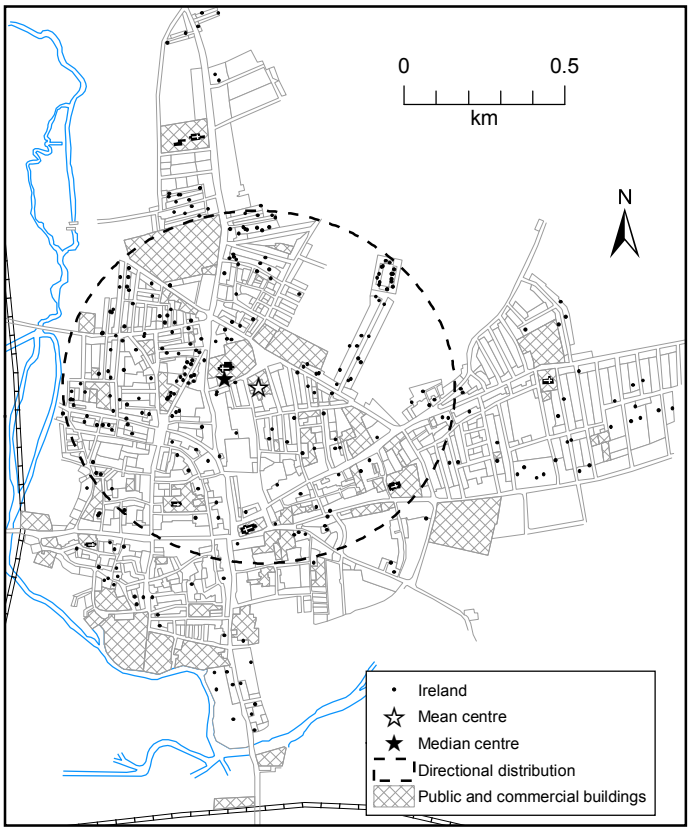
d. Incomers born in Oundle, 1871



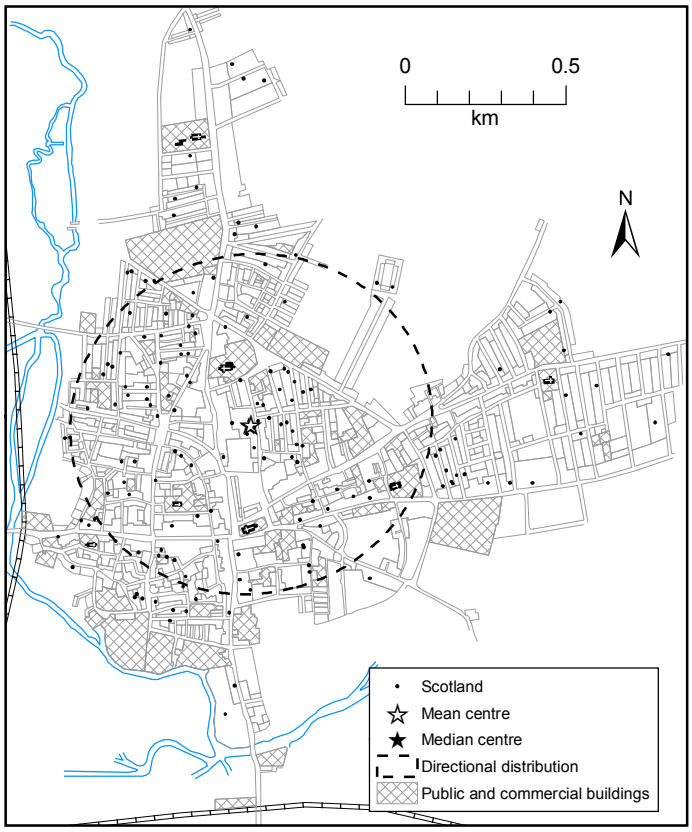
Sources: 1871 census.

Figure 58

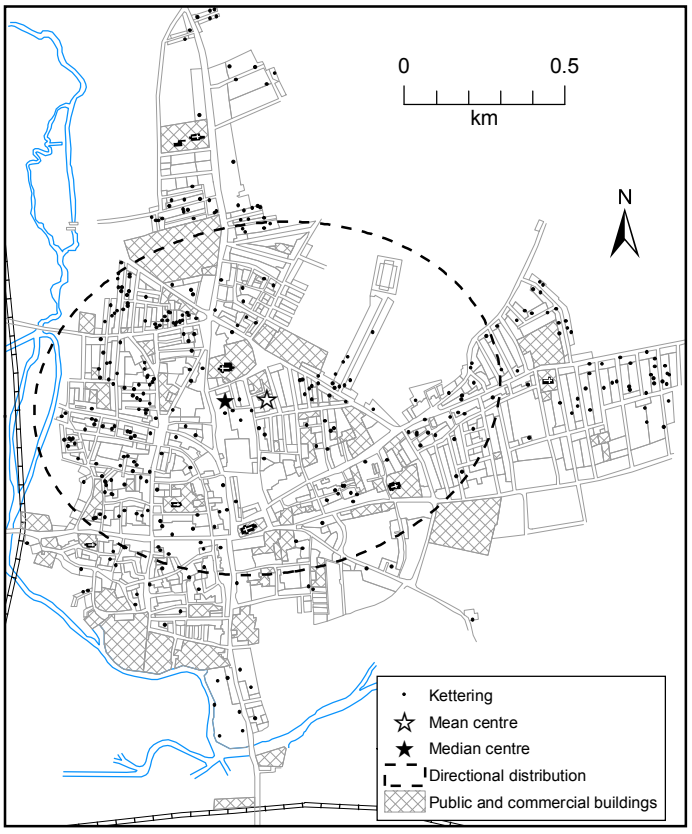
a. Incomers born in Ireland, 1871



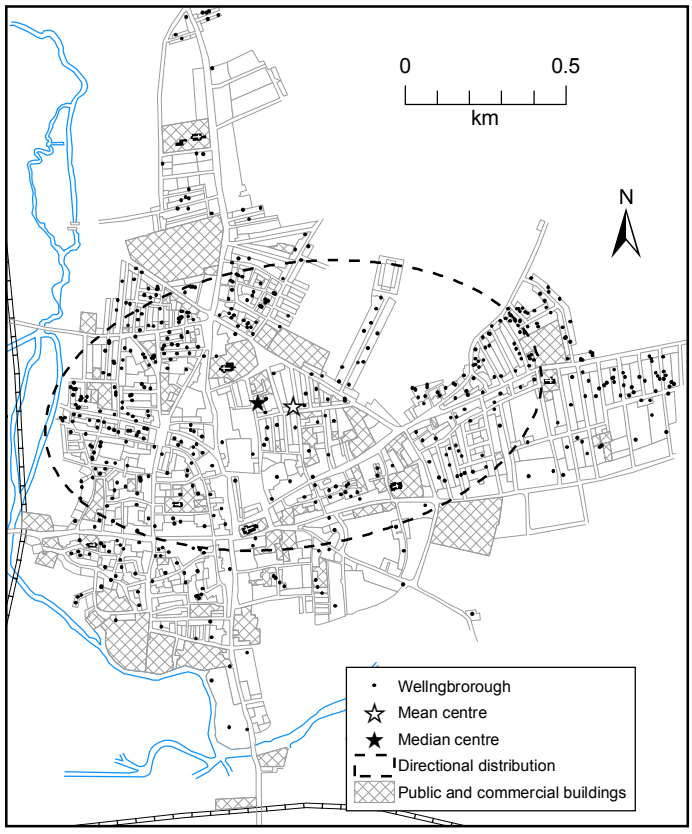
b Incomers born in Scotland, 1871



c. Incomers born in Kettering, 1871



d. Incomers born in Wellingborough, 1871



Sources: 1871 census.

Figure 59. Age structure, gender and birthplaces (10 per cent sample) 1871. Source:1871 census

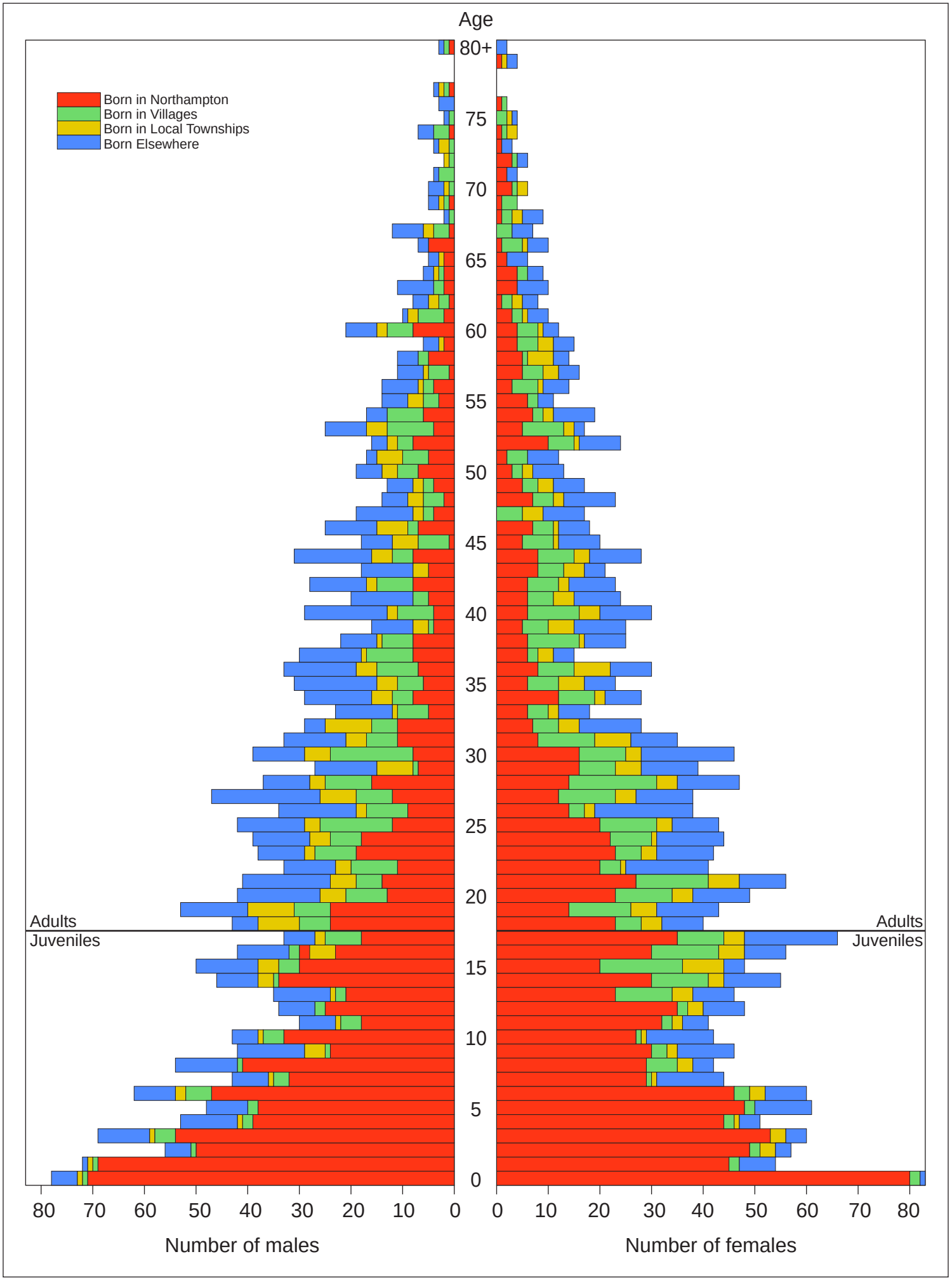


Figure 60. Age structure and gender by birthplaces (10 per cent sample) 1871. Source: 1871 census

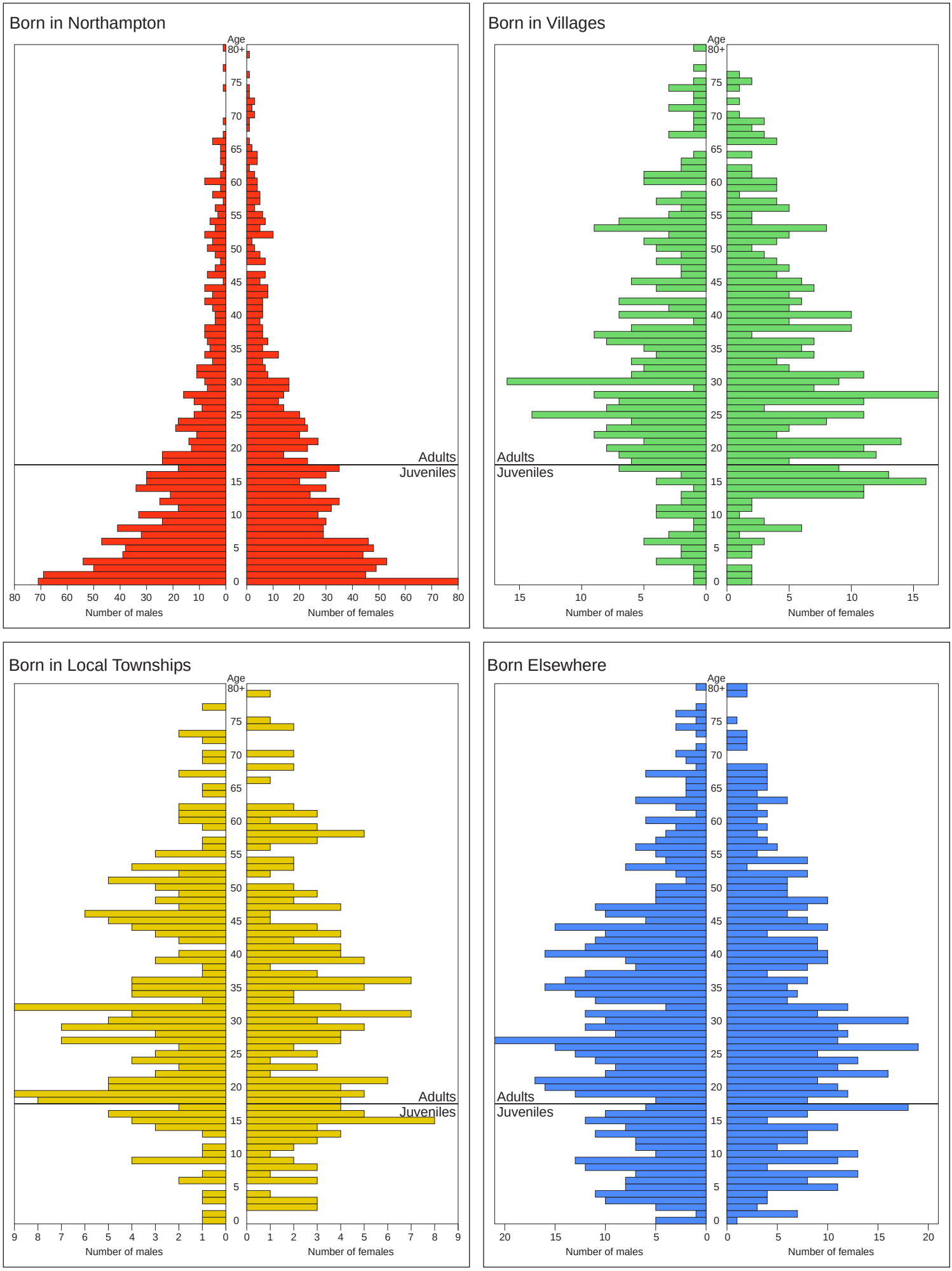
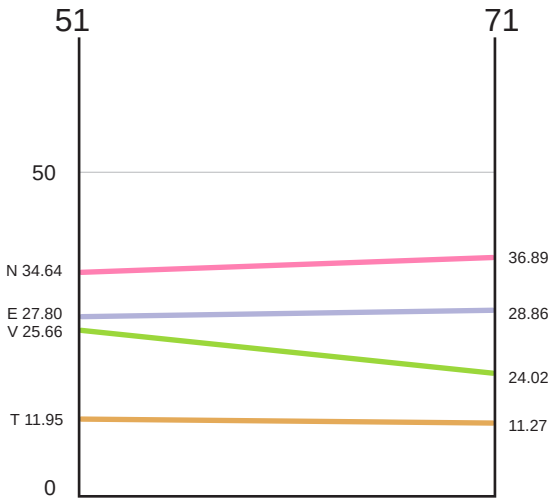
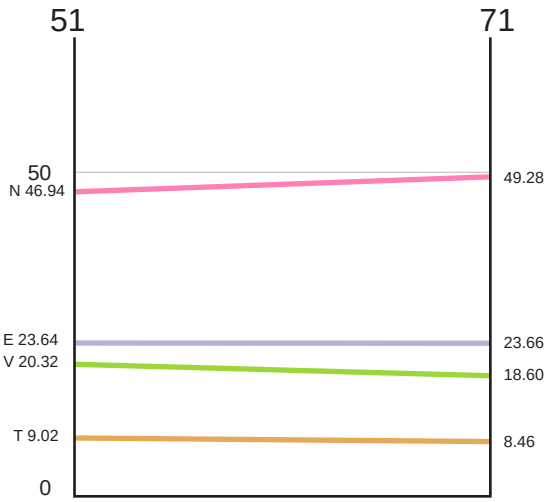


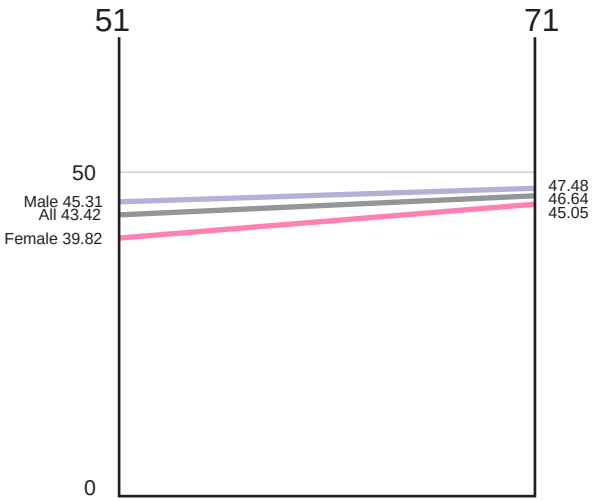
Figure 61. Structure of the workforce, 1851 and 1871



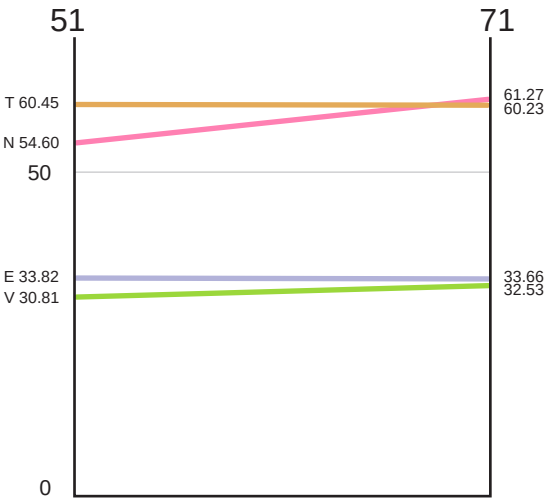
Birthplaces of workforce % by origin



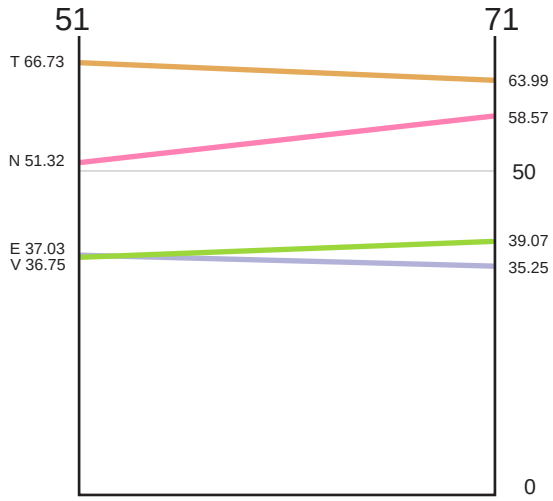
Birthplaces of population % by origin



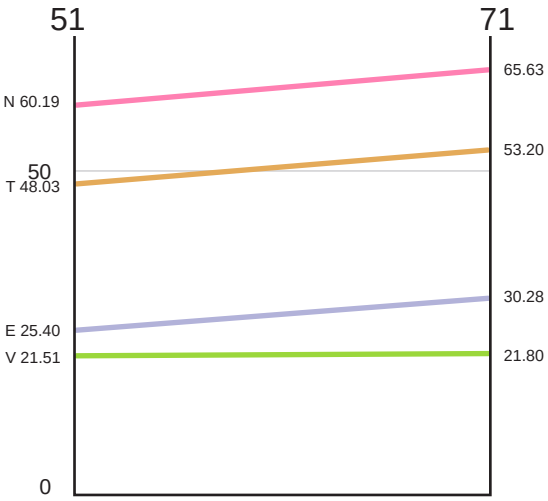
Share of shoeworkers, male and female, in work force (%)



Shoemakers' share of workforce % by origin



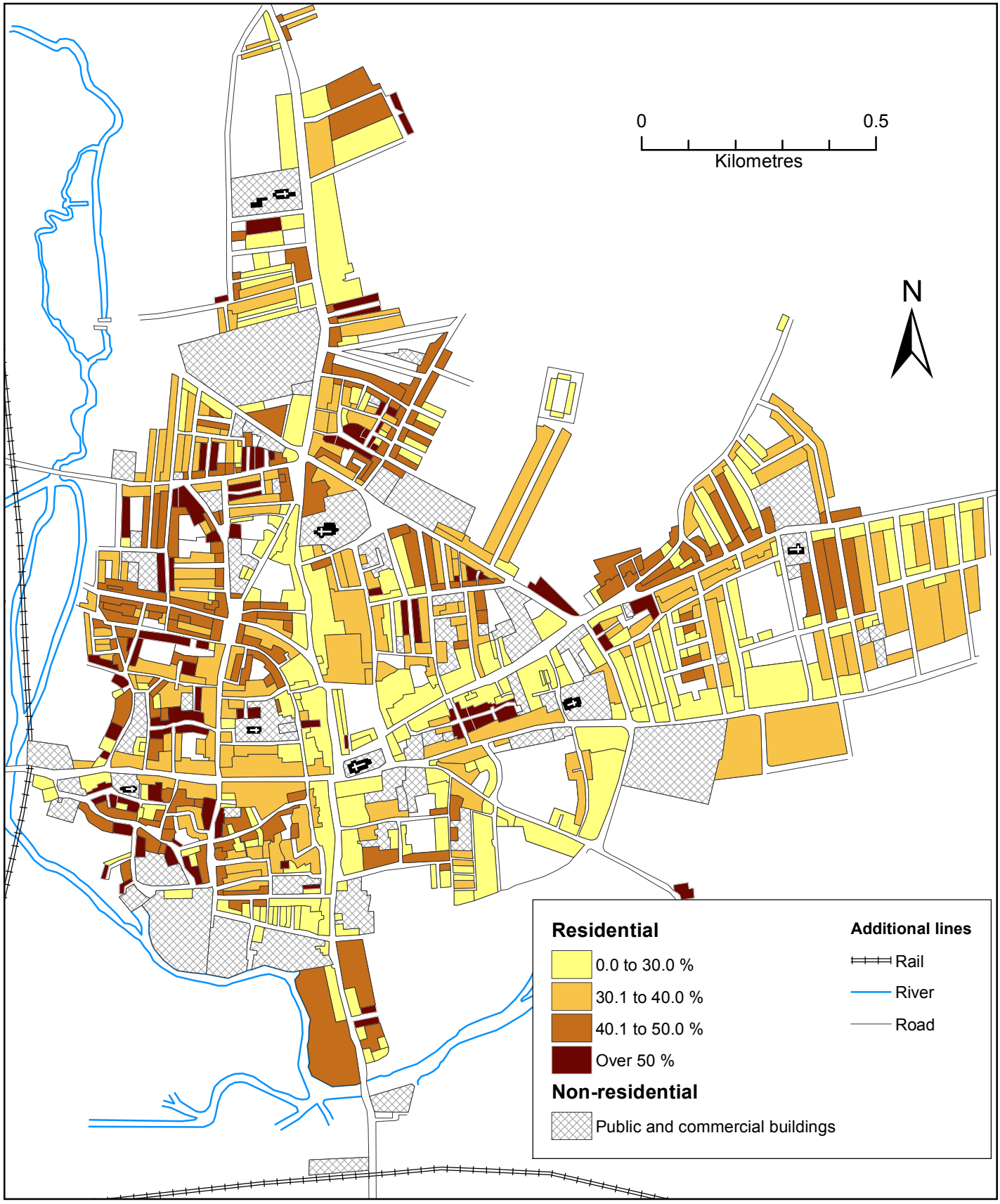
Male shoemakers' share of workforce % by origin



Female shoemakers' share of workforce % by origin

Note: N=born in Northampton; V=Villages; T=Townships; E=Elsewhere
Source: Censuses

Figure 62. Percentage of working population born in Northampton, 1871



Source: 1871 census

Figure 63. Shoe workers as percentage of all workers, 1851

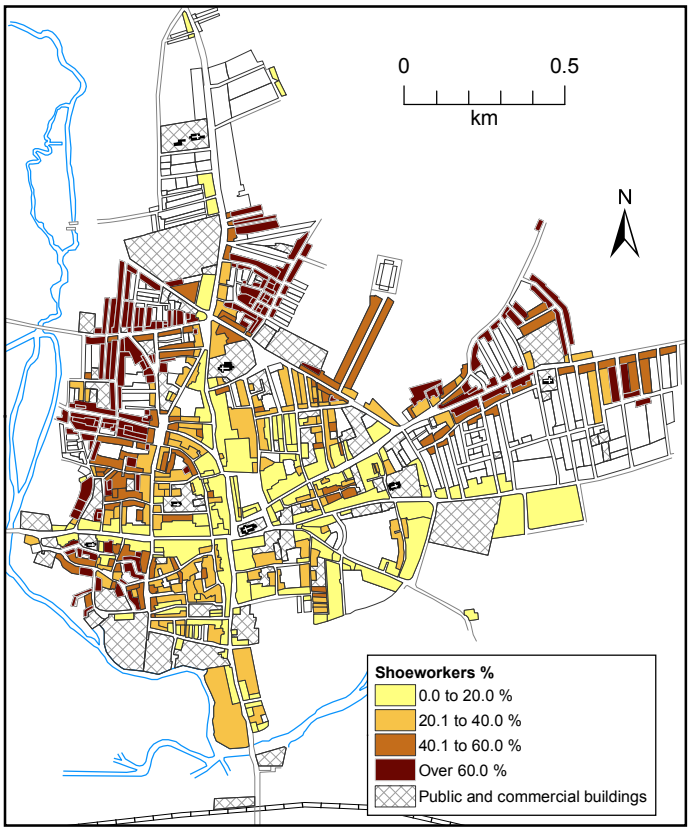


Figure 64. Shoe workers as percentage of all workers, 1871

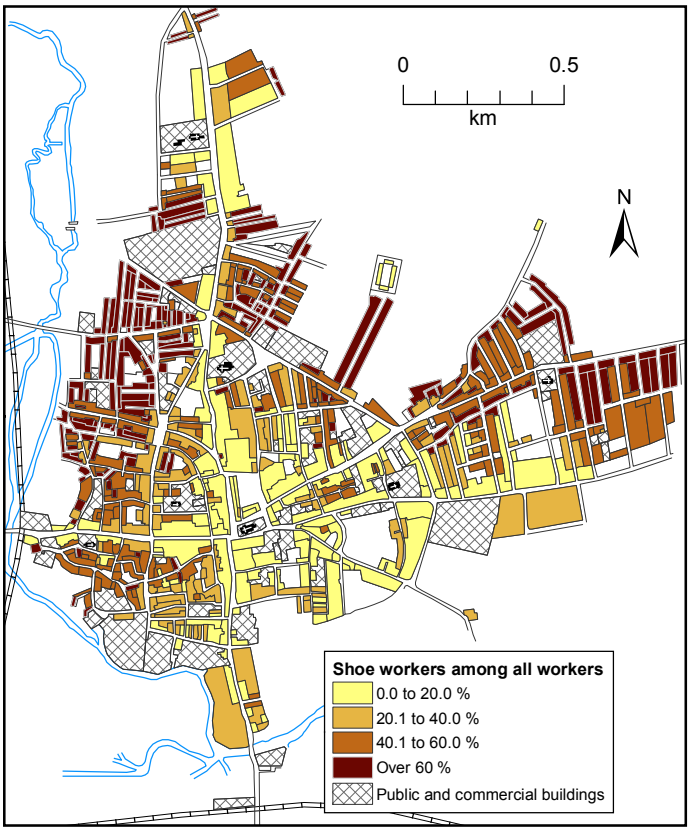


Figure 65. Shoe-workers as percentage of adult working males, 1871

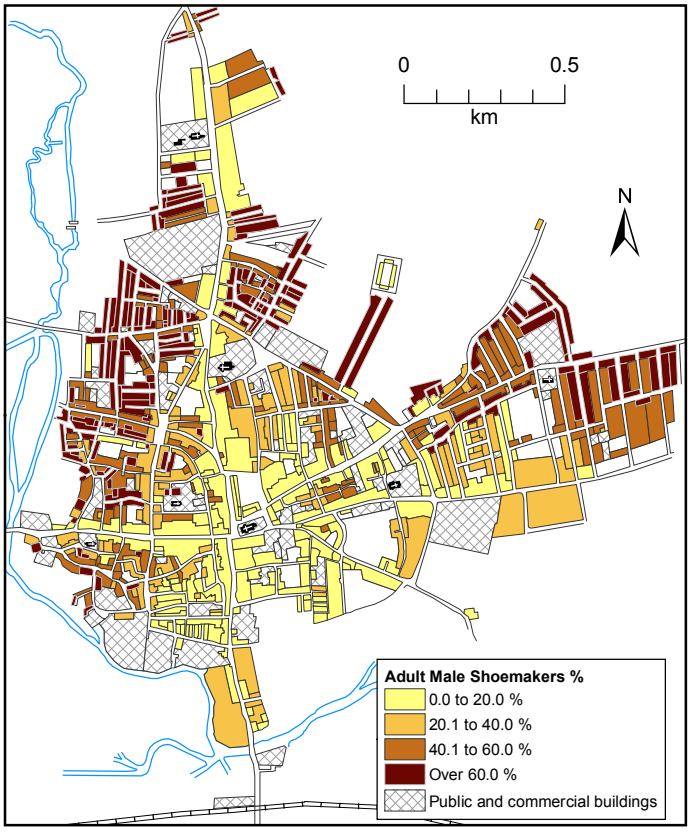
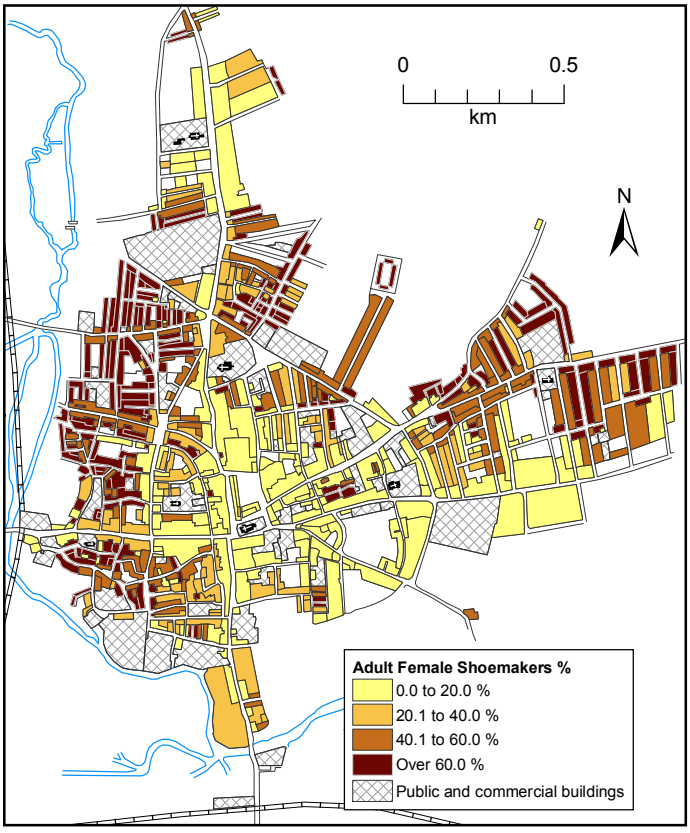


Figure 66. Shoe-workers as percentage of adult working females, 1871



Sources: 1851 and 1871 censuses.

Figure 67. Males as percent of all shoe-workers, 1871

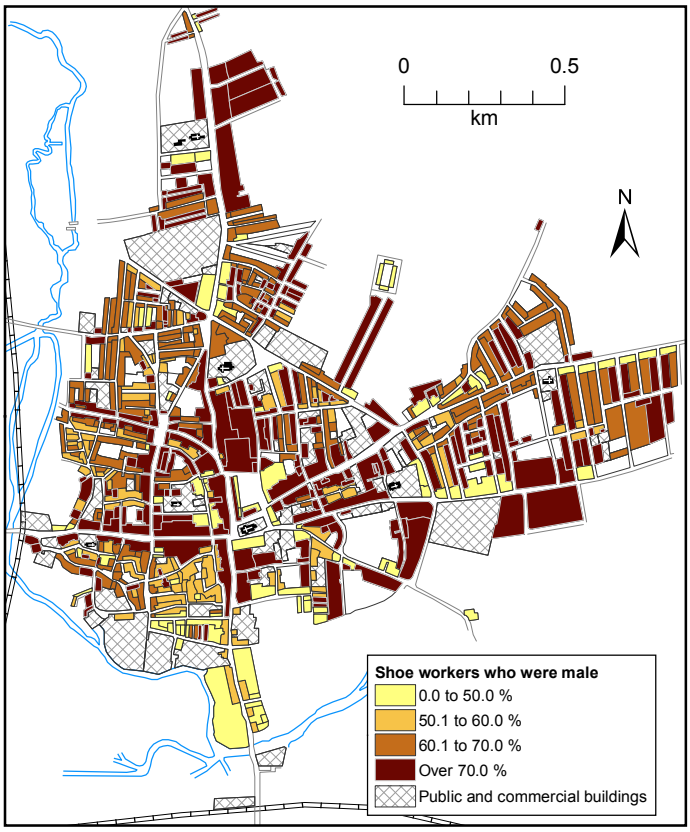


Figure 68. Shoe-workers as percent of Northampton-born workers

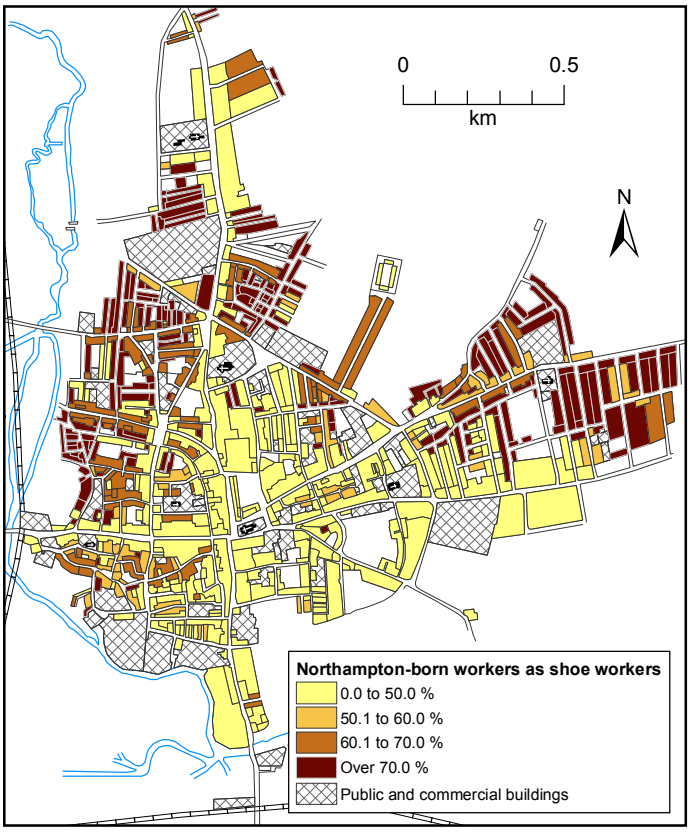


Figure 69. Shoe-workers, % of Northampton-born adult male workers1871

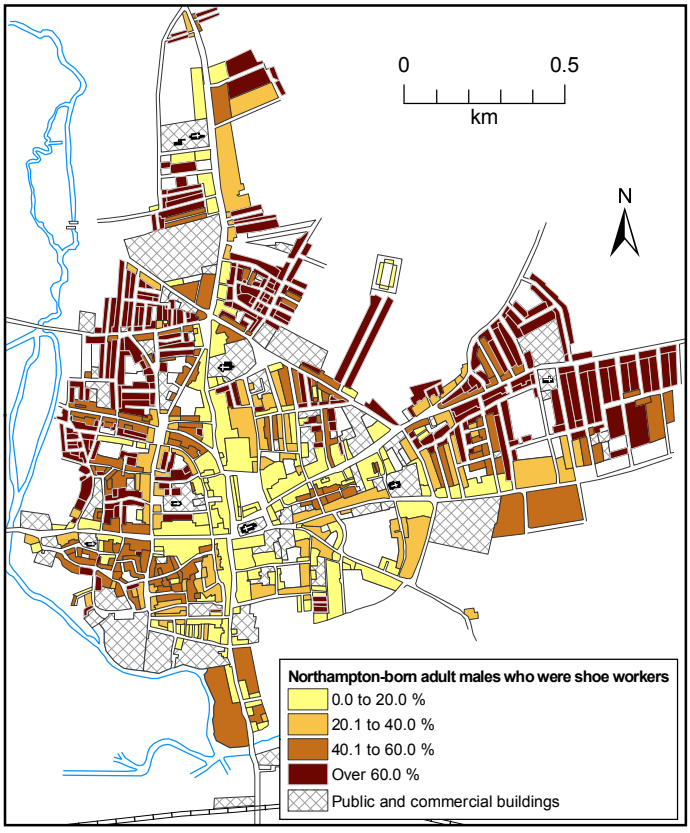
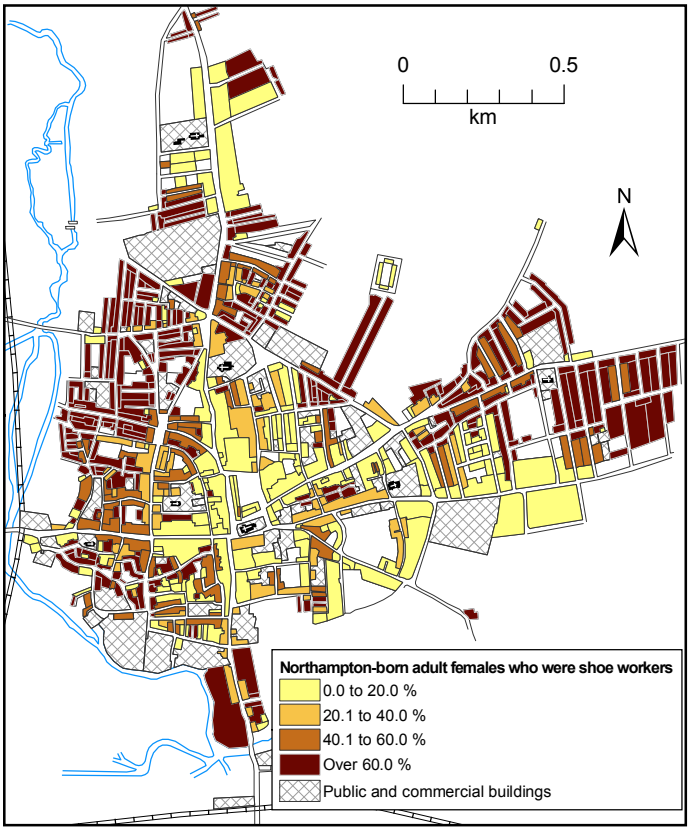


Figure 70. Shoe-workers, % of Northampton-born adult female workers



Sources: 1871 census.

Figure 71. Patterns on the Ground, 1871, based on 1871 rate books and 1871 census

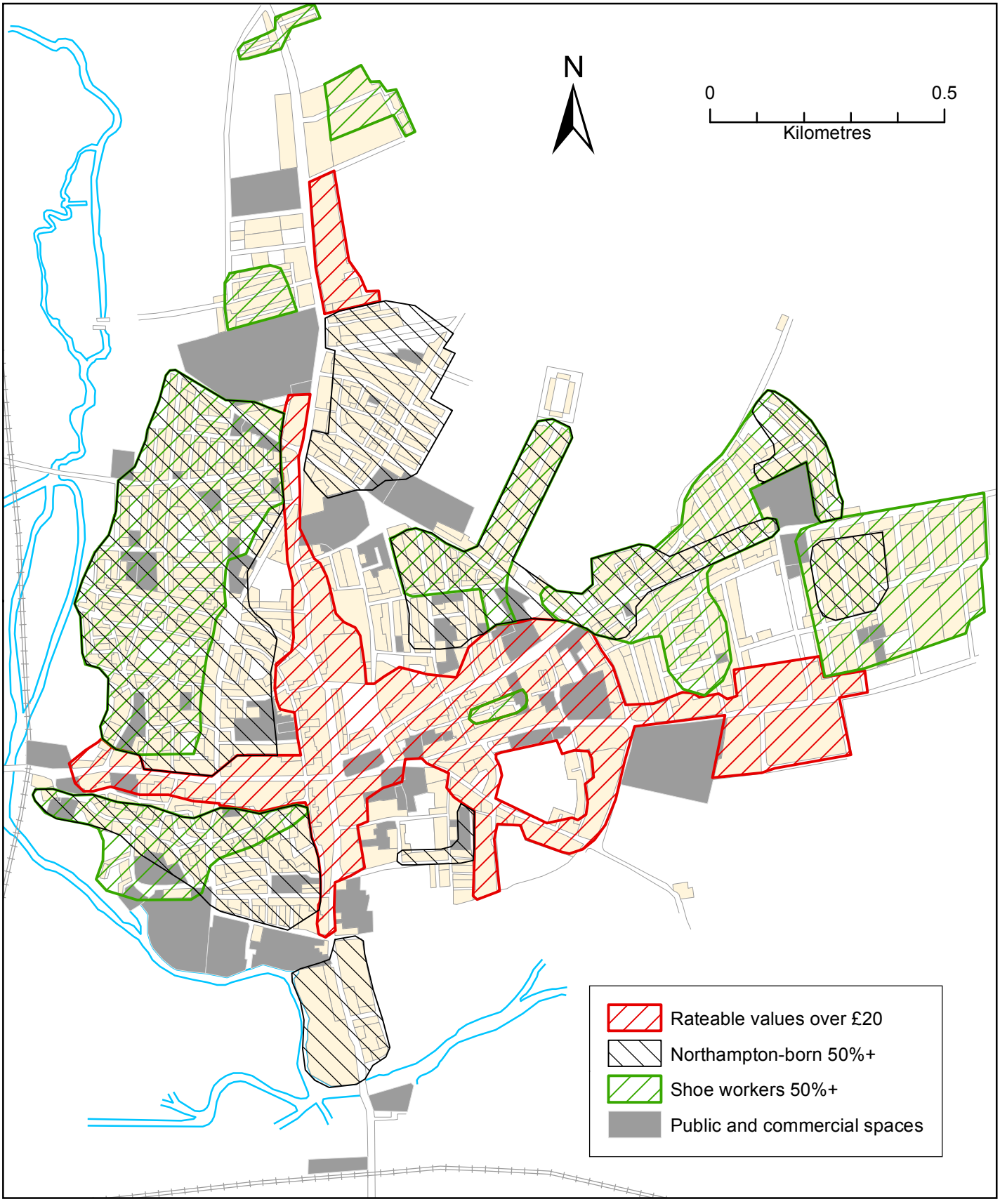


Figure 72. Population change by parish, 1851 - 1871.

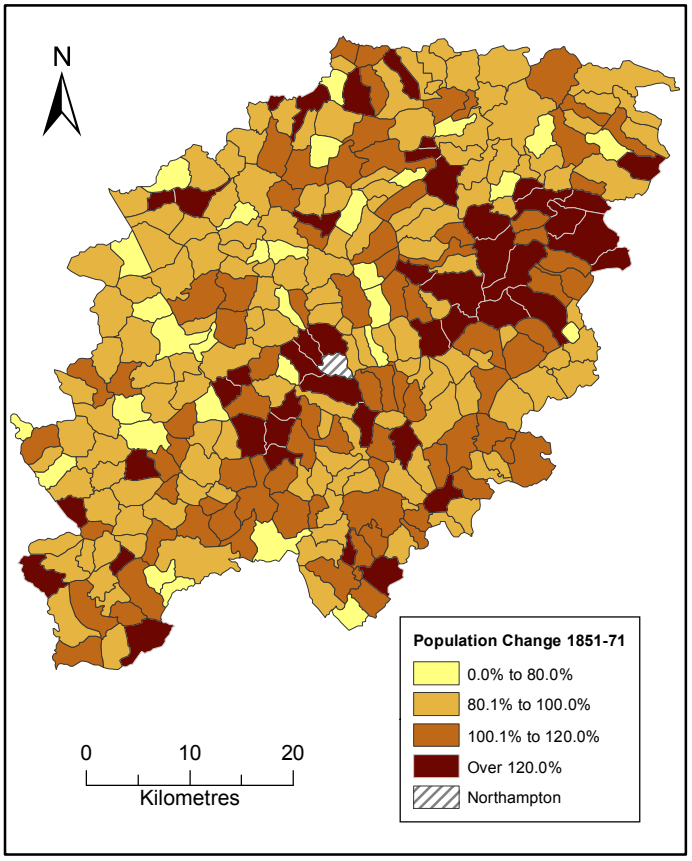


Figure 73. Percentage of male migrants by parish, 1871

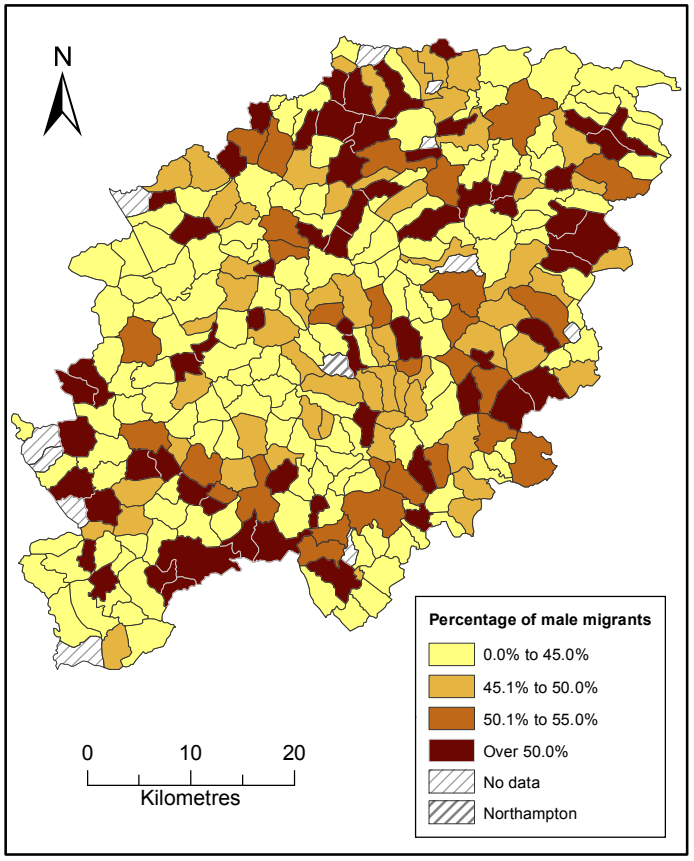


Figure 74. Percentage of juvenile migrants by parish, 1871

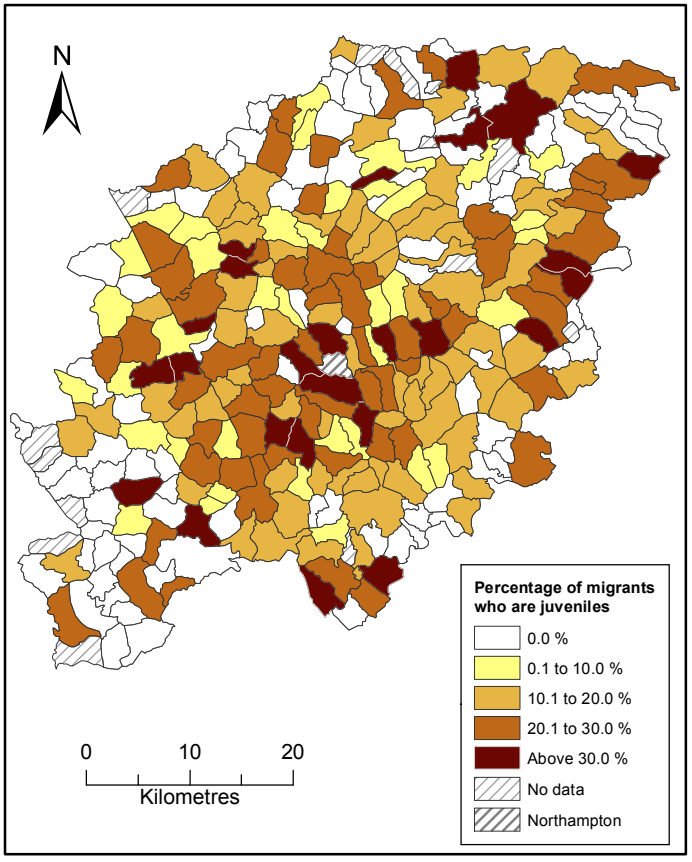
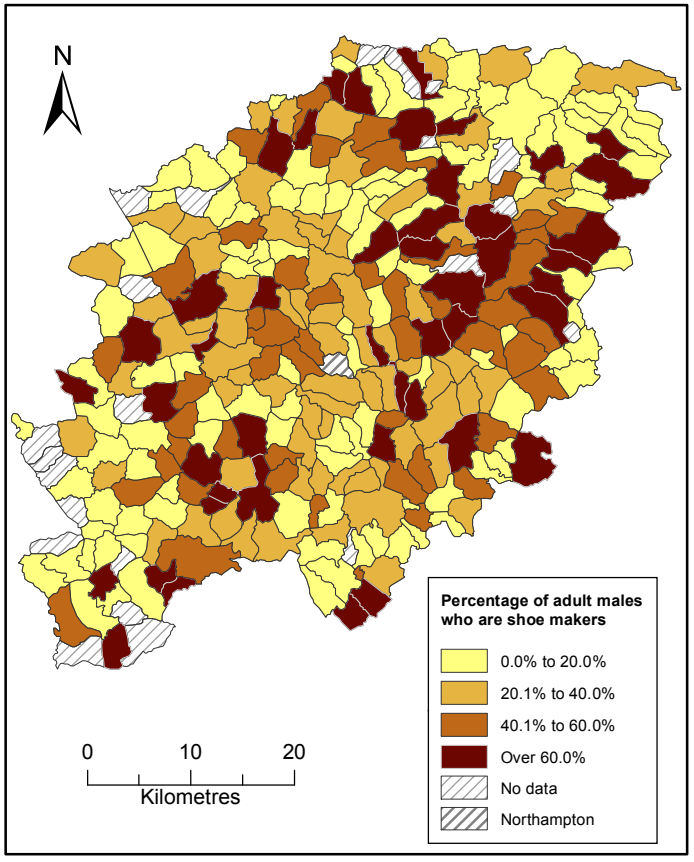
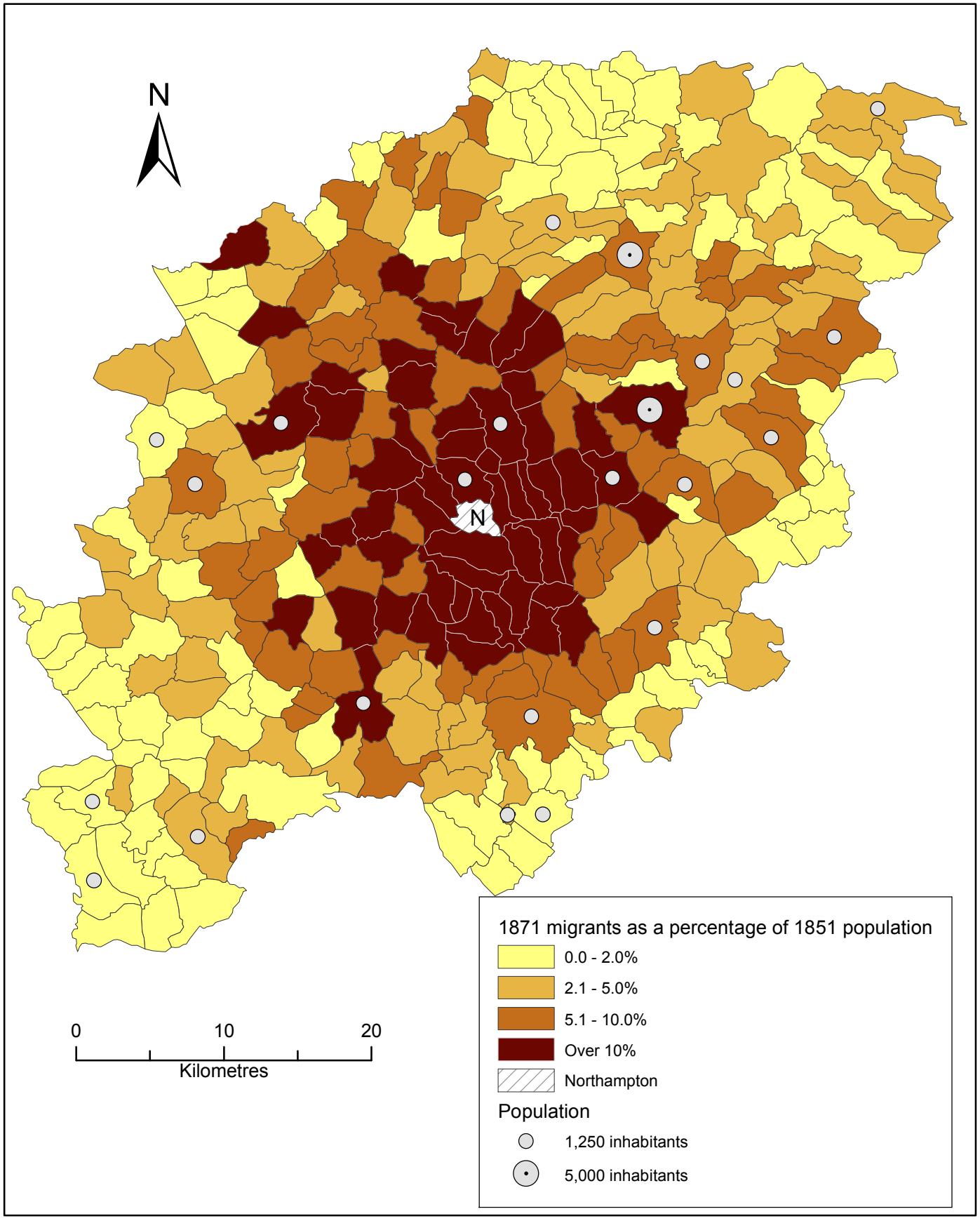


Figure 75. Percentage of shoe workers in adult male migrants, 1871



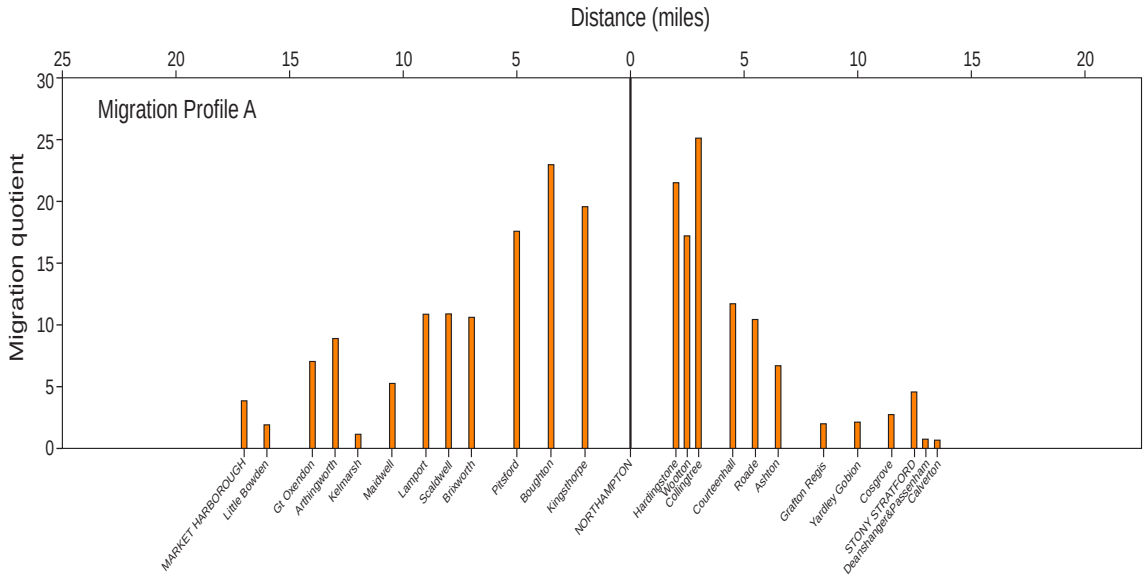
Sources: 1871 census.

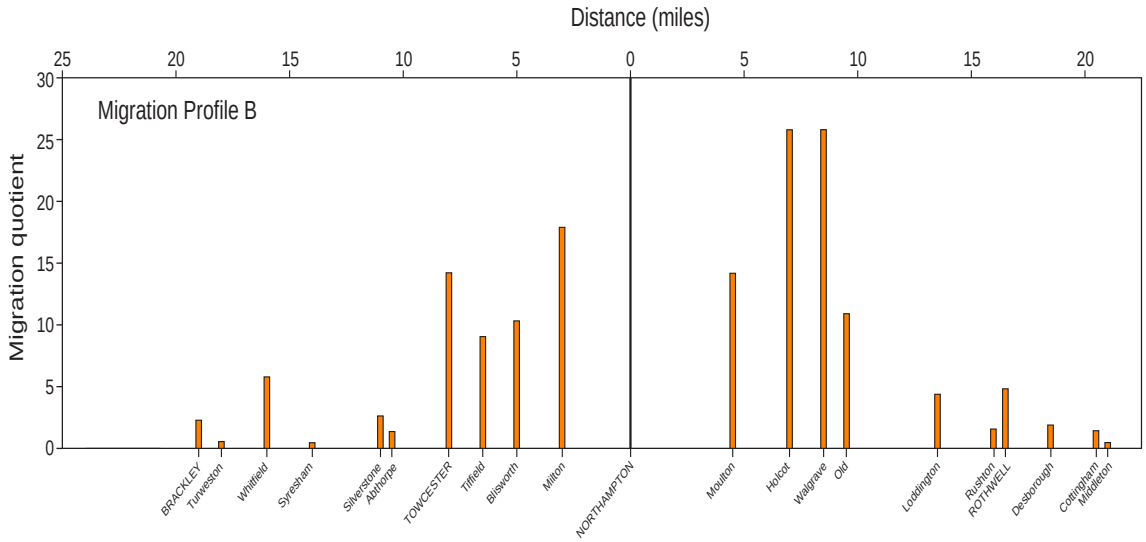
Figure 76. Migration Quotients. 1871 migrants as a percentage of 1851 population



Source: 1851 and 1871 censuses.

Figure 77. Migration Profiles, source: 1851 and 1871 censuses.





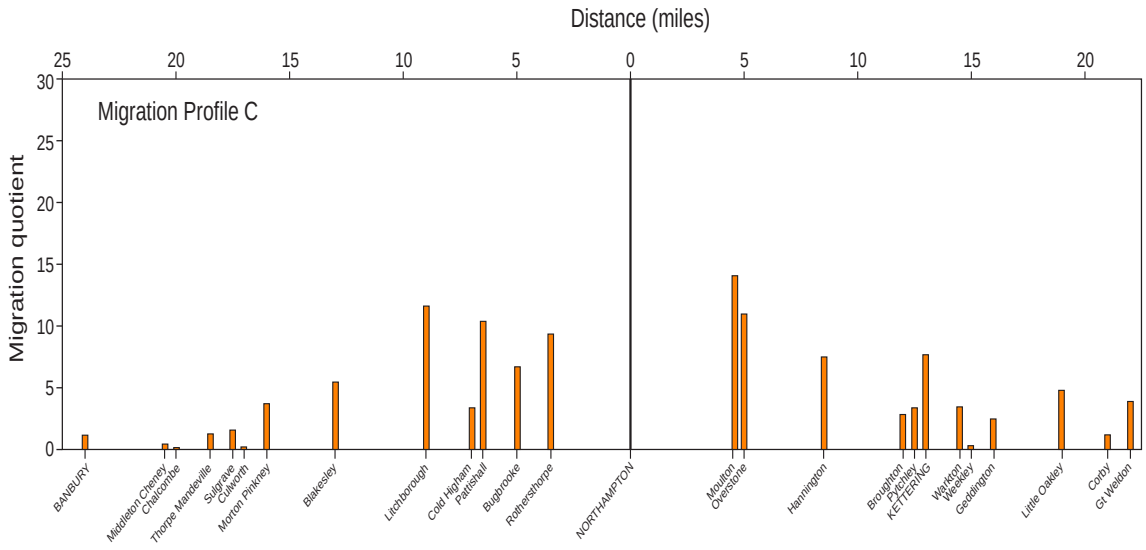
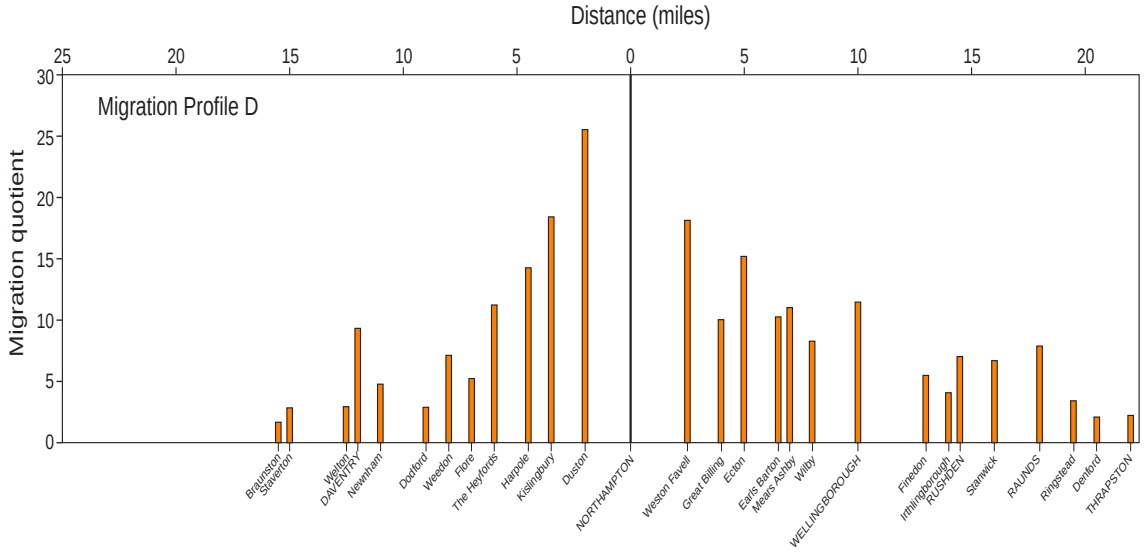
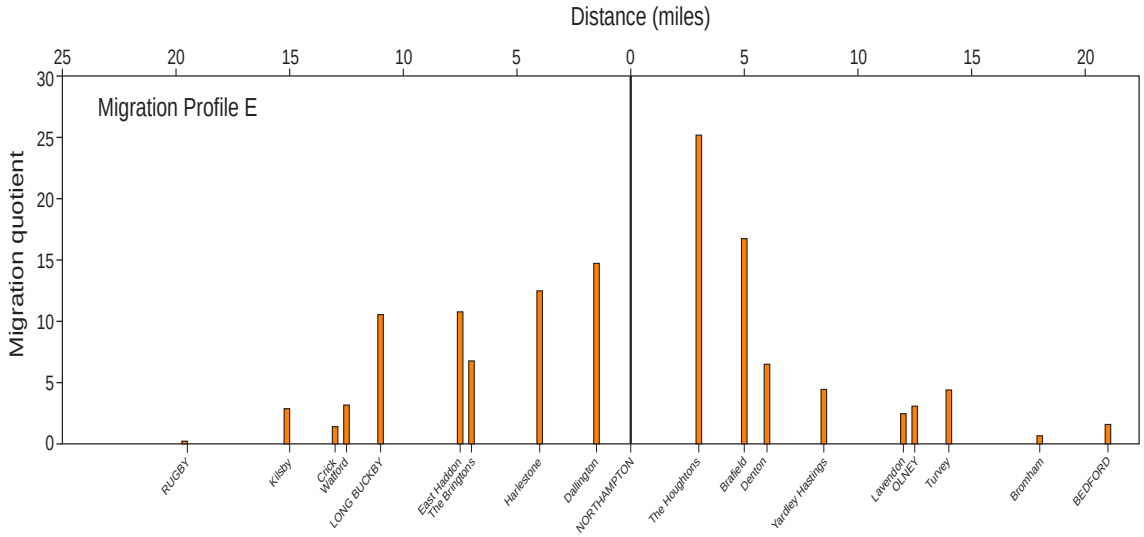


Figure 77. Migration Profiles, source: 1851 and 1871 censuses.





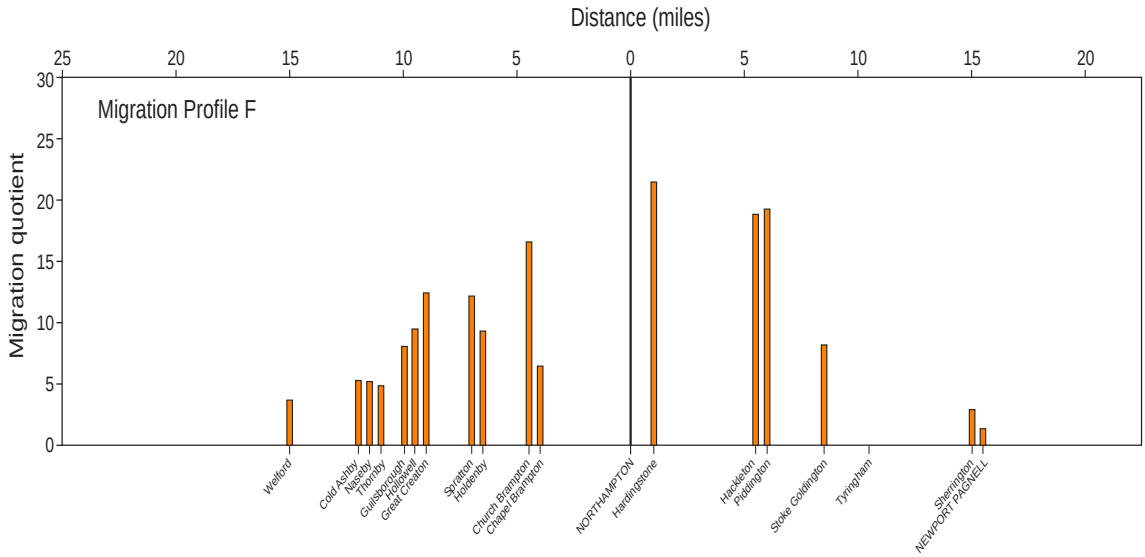


Table 1: Houses, inhabitants and residential population, 1841-71

	1841	1844	1851	1861	1871
Houses	4,360	4,528	5,009	6,648	7,912
Rated houses	4,360	4,528	5,009	6,648	7,806
Rateable value (£p.a)	46,580.50	45,319.00	50,124.00	66,321.18	84,287.67
Rateable value per house*	10.68	10.01	10.01	10.03	11.46
Empty houses	342		130	504	225
Percent empty	7.84	5.00 (est.)	2.60	7.58	2.88
Inhabitants per house	4.72		5.09	4.77	5.10
Inhabitants per occ. House	5.12		5.23	5.16	5.25
Total population	21,242	21,810 (est.)	26,657	32,813	41,168
Institutions	540		919	1083	1,271
Institutional staff	59		99	129	148
School staff (in resident pop.)	18		39	62	94
Scholars	66		131	140	307
Residential population *	20,577	20,979 (est.)	25,508	31,692	39,515
Resident. Pop. (%)	96.87		95.69	96.58	95.98
Rateable value per head *	2.26	2.16	1.97	2.09	2.13
Rateable value per head **	2.08	2.05	1.92	1.93	2.08

Notes:

* rated houses only

** houses rated and occupied

Sources: houses from rate books, population from censuses. (enumerators' books)

Minor variations due to timing.

1844 population and empty properties interpolated

Table 2: New Houses built annually, number and rateable value.

Year	New houses	Rateable value	Av.rateable value	Number of sites built	houses per site	Main locations
1841)						
1842)	132	1875.33	14.20	39	3.38	Spencer Pde,Cheyne Walk, Princes St, Albert, Marefair
1843)						
1844	46	666	14.48	14	3.29	Sheep St, Newland, Albert, Grafton, Princes
1845	60	535	8.92	19	3.16	Park Sr, Albert, Gas, Quart Pot Lane
1846	67	756	11.28	23	2.91	Lady's Lane, Princes St. St.George's St, Regent St
1847	54	517	9.57	23	2.38	Billing Rd., Park St., Woolmonger, Melbourne,Market St
1848	63	563	8.94	18	3.50	Park St, Kerr, Lady's La., Regent Sq.,St.John's La
1849	44	567	12.89	19	2.32	Billing Rd., George Row, Royal Terr., Spencer Pde., West St.
1850	48	499	10.40	16	3.00	Billing Rd.,Pike L., Cow L., Dover St., Bedford Pl.Park St
1851	115	1004	8.73	30	3.83	Park St, Bouverie, Abington, Lr.Grafton, Regent Sq.,Spring Lane
1852	143	1153	8.06	27	5.30	Kerr St, Bouverie, West, New Town, Upp.Harding, Spring La,Billing Rd
1853	148	1225	8.28	30	4.93	Kingsthorpe Rd.,Adelaide St, Brunswick, New Town,Melbourne,West,Bouverie,Broad La
1854	155	1417	9.14	32	4.84	Victoria St, Market, Melbourne, Newland, Francis, Wellingbro,Newland,St.Georges St
1855	193	1403	7.27	38	5.08	Raglan St, Market,West,Vernon, Inkerman Terr.,Lawrence, Wellingbro.Rd.,Upp.Harding
1856	146	1271	8.71	35	4.17	Castilian St., St.John's Pl., Wellingbro Rd E, Brunswick, Bird's Piece,Priory, Sawpit La,Spring Lane Terr
1857	246	2047	9.79	44	5.59	Billing Rd., Victoria St, Wellingbro Rd. E, Upp.Priory St.,Kingsthorpe Rd., Brier La,Bird's Piece,Lower Bridge
1858	233	2971	12.75	42	5.55	Alliston Gdns, St George's Pl.,St.George's Terr., Lower Thrift, Upp. Thrift, St.Edmund's St.,Herbert, Althorp
1859	115	1491	12.97	30	3.83	Langham Pl.,Lawrence St.,Upp.Thrift,York Pde, York St.,Stockley, Black Lion Hill, St.James's St
1860	184	1954	10.62	42	4.38	Albion Pl.,Kettering Rd.,Lawrence St., Maple, Freehold,St.George's Pl., Primrose Hill,York Pde.,Abington Pl
1861	165	1885	11.42	37	4.46	Abington St., Vernon, St Edmund's, Brier La.,Bouverie, Upp.Thrift, Lr.Grafton, Waterloo Terr., Abington Pl.
1862	112	1153	10.29	27	4.15	Langham Pl.,Pine St. Alpha, Wellingbro.Rd.,York Pde., Lower Thrift, Gt.Russell, Abington St.,Portland St
1863	80	768	9.60	19	4.21	St.Giles's Terr., Wellingbro Rd.E., Deal St, Oak, Kingsthorpe Rd.,Herbert St
1864	169	2123	12.56	40	4.23	Billing Rd., Vernon St.,Lyveden Terr,Alfred,Bird's Piece, Wellingbro Rd.,York St., Harrison Rd., Lr.Priory
1865	47	661	14.06	18	2.61	Langham Pl., Vernon Terr., Fitzroy St., Sawpit Lane, Black Lion Hill
1866	153	1636	10.69	31	4.94	Alexandra Rd., Denmark, Wellingbro Rd., York St.,Fitzroy Terr., Cromwell St., Clarke's Bldgs.,Grafton St
1867	100	1216	12.16	22	4.55	Denmark Rd.,Billing Rd., York St., Cromwell, Gt,Russell, Alexandra Rd., Vernon Terr.
1868	157	1571	10.01	29	5.41	Denmark Rd., Cleveland, Alfred, Billing Rd., Deal St., Maple, Bristol, Port St
1869	116	1209	10.42	27	4.30	Victoria Rd, Cyril St., Pytchley,Kettering Rd., Bailiff St., Maple, Moat, St.James's Sq
1870	192	1767	9.20	31	6.19	Cleveland Rd.,Pytchley, Ecton, Harold, Thenford, Gladstone Terr., Fitzroy Terr, Herbert, Fort, Grafton St., William
1871	307	3262	10.63	51	6.02	Cyril, Stockley, Pytchley, Vernon Terr, Alfred, Exeter, Billing Rd N, W'bro Rd S, Lorne, Bailiff, Ash,St.Mary's,Thomas
Total	3658	37290	10.19	853		

Source: Rate books

Table 3: House values by street, 1841-71

Rateable values (£ p.a.)	1841		1851		1861		1871	
	streets	%	streets	%	streets	%	streets	%
under £5	78	35.14	85	34.98	81	27.74	69	21.04
£5-5.99	23	10.36	38	15.64	37	12.67	38	11.59
£6-6.99	32	14.41	23	9.47	34	11.64	40	12.20
£7-7.99	22	9.91	21	8.64	35	11.99	31	9.45
£8-8.99	6	2.70	13	5.35	21	7.14	38	11.59
£9-9.99	7	3.15	5	2.06	14	4.79	24	7.32
£10-11-99	7	3.15	9	3.70	10	3.42	13	3.96
£12-14.99	12	5.41	15	6.17	23	7.88	22	6.71
£15-19.99	12	5.41	9	3.70	11	3.77	19	5.79
£20-49.99	19	8.56	19	7.82	20	6.85	23	7.01
£50 and over	4	1.80	6	2.47	6	2.05	11	3.35
£5-9.99 inclusive		40.53		41.15		48.28		52.15
£10-19.99 inclusive		13.97		13.57		15.02		16.46
£20 and over		10.36		10.29		8.90		10.36
Total	222		243		292		328	

Note: 1841 values for St. Peters and extra-parochial parts are taken from 1844 books.

Source: rate books

Table.4: Population and rateable values per head, 1851 and 1871, representative streets

Street	1851			1871				
	Inhabitants	rateable value	r.v per head	Inhabitants	rateable value	r.v per head	pop.chang 51-71	r.v.per head change
Market Square	195	1498.00	7.68	201	1706.38	8.49	103.80	110.50
Parade	95	713.50	7.51	83	823.50	9.92	87.37	132.09
Drapery	271	2506	9.25	265	3444.25	13.00	97.79	140.54
Mercers Row	41	359.00	8.76	47	528.38	11.24	114.63	128.31
Gold Street	287	2059.00	7.17	304	3331.50	10.96	105.92	152.86
Upper Bridge Street,	345	1902.00	5.51	323	2682.00	8.30	93.62	150.64
George Row	62	466.00	7.52	57	692.00	12.14	91.94	161.44
Wood Hill	58	323.00	5.57	54	627.00	11.61	93.10	208.44
Abington St exc yards	493	2731.00	5.54	519	3682.45	7.10	105.27	128.16
St Giles Street	364	1103.00	3.03	346	1428.83	4.13	95.05	136.30
Sheep Stret	431	1726.50	4.01	328	2214.00	6.75	76.10	168.33
Marefair, AS&SP and courts	321	965.00	3.01	274	1316.75	4.81	85.36	159.80
Newland and courts	320	1026.25	3.21	453	1588.75	3.51	141.56	109.35
Woolmonger St & courts	338	420.00	1.24	326	510.50	1.57	96.45	126.61
Castle Street ex ct & terr	225	397.00	1.76	307	471.25	1.54	136.44	87.50
Wood Street & courts	231	659.00	2.85	233	748.25	3.21	100.87	112.63
Wood St ex courts	206	645.00	3.13	204	734.25	3.60	99.03	115.02
Castle Street, court & terrace	290	460.00	1.59	382	528.75	1.38	131.72	86.79
Scarletwell Street	672	634.50	0.94	546	836.13	1.53	81.25	162.77
Spencer Pde, W'loo&Albion	310	1641.00	5.29	354	2151.63	6.08	114.19	114.93
Bridge Street courts & yards	653	436.00	0.67	580	596.50	1.03	88.82	153.73
Commercial St & courts	157	277.00	1.76	144	309.13	2.15	91.72	122.16
College Street & courts	204	414.50	2.03	186	497.13	2.67	91.18	131.53
Great Russell Street	549	838.75	1.53	743	1062.00	1.43	135.34	93.46
Gregory Street	192	129.00	0.67	158	206.38	1.31	82.29	195.52
Greyfriars Street	172	280.00	1.63	170	327.00	1.92	98.84	117.79
Horsemarket	416	1064.50	2.56	386	1189.13	3.08	92.79	120.31
Horsemarket courts & gdns	105	126.50	1.20	144	177.00	1.23	137.14	102.50
Lower Bridge Street	533	1702.00	3.19	603	1888.63	3.13	113.13	98.12
Augustin Street	163	425.00	2.61	206	484.88	2.35	126.38	90.04
Chapel Place and gdns	286	197.00	0.69	258	229.75	0.89	90.21	128.99
Compton Street	417	398.25	0.96	348	334.00	0.96	83.45	100.00
Royal Terrace	77	351.00	4.56	70	437.75	6.25	90.91	137.06
Upp&Lr Harding Sts & Terr	428	442.50	1.03	569	639.00	1.12	132.94	108.74
Bath Street & courts	586	617.50	1.05	569	683.75	1.20	97.10	114.29
all St Mary's St&Place	346	397.50	1.15	323	494.13	1.53	93.35	133.04

Sources: Rate books and censuses, 1851 and 187 (enumerators' books)

Table 5: Building tradesmen - continuity, 1830-69

	1830	Ongoing	1841	Ongoing	1847	Ongoing	1854	Ongoing	1862	Ongoing	1869
Names	56	21	63	33	65	43	89	44	91	45	77
Entries	112	40	129	68	132	85	176	81	202	114	150
Builders/Bricklayers	11	5	12	7	16	15	28	13	7	3	28
Builders/Carpenters	5	0	7	4	3	2	7	4	26	15	0
Carpenters/Joiners	15	4	20	12	28	17	23	10	23	8	22
Plasterers/Slaters	8	4	5	0	2	0	2	0	6	2	3
Plumbers etc	8	4	11	8	10	4	7	5	21	9	10
Painters/Glaziers	4	2	4	0	3	2	13	4	20	9	9
All Builders	16	5	19	11	19	17	35	17	33	18	28
All Carpenters	20	4	27	16	31	19	30	14	29	24	22
All Plast/Plumb/P&G	20	10	20	8	17	6	22	9	28	20	22
Stonemasons	2	1	1	1	2	2	4	2	5	3	4
Brickmakers	3	1	3	1	1	1	5	3	4	3	2

Sources: Directories (see Appendix)

Table 6a: Leading owners (1844)

	Owner	Description	Houses	Rateable value
1	Roberts, Thomas	carpenter, shop keeper, Bridge Street	89	£488.00
2	Percival, John&Samuel	gent, banker, Abington Street	81	£828.00
3	Walker, Samuel	gent, Castle Hill	75	£570.25
4	Friendly Societies		75	£412.25
5	Charities		71	£793.50
6	Whitworth, Henry B	gent, George Row	57	£460.00
7	Porter, William	gent, St.Andrew's Terrace	55	£413.50
8	Scarborough, R J	gent, St.Giles' Street	49	£277.00
9	Wilson, Esther		47	£380.00
10	Masters, Thomas	builder, shopkeeper, St.George's St	46	£405.50
11	Jones, Thomas	boot&shoe manufacturer, Mayorhold	45	£244.00
12	Page, Robert	tailor, Sheep Street	38	£379.50
13	Alliston, John	butcher, Sheep Street	37	£175.00
14	Mott, James	builder, Lady's Lane	35	£211.00
15	Groom, John&Richard	boot manufacturers & leather sellers, Abington St	34	£374.50
16	Roberts, George	baker, Harding Street	32	£203.50
17	Perrin, William	maltster, Marefair	30	£199.00
18	Butcher, William	brickmaker&publican,Kettering Rd	30	£143.50
19	Horsey, Samuel,	timber and slate merchant, Horsemarket	28	£240.00
20	Harris, Richard	builder, Newland	28	£353.00
21	Clay, John & execs	gent, Lady's Lane	27	£176.00
22	Stimpson, John	gent, Cheyne Walk	27	£150.00
23	Ireson, Charles	builder, Bath Street	26	£313.25
24	Stuchbury, Francis		25	£246.50
25	Marriott, Robert	builder, Scarletwell Street	25	£141.00
26	Jones, William	boot&shoe manufacturer, St.Giles's Street	24	£271.50
27	Osborne, George	gent, Waterloo Terrace	24	£428.00
28	Birdsall, Richard	bookseller&stationer,Drapery	23	£177.00
29	Smith, James	boot & shoe manufacturer, Scarletwell St	22	£173.25
30	Pearson, Thomas	currier and leather merchant, Bridge St	22	£162.00
31	Gillins, Thomas		22	£89.00
32	Whitmy, James	carpenter, Abington Street	21	£318.00
33	Meacock, Robert		21	£213.00
34	Mackness, Jesse	carpenter, Woolmonger Street	21	£111.00
35	Parbery, A	baker, Scarletwell Street	21	£105.00
36	Smith, Benjamin		21	£135.00
37	Manning, James	gent, Bridge Street	20	£234.50
38	Steevenson, Benjamin	gent, Abington St./Spencer Parade	20	£235.50
39	Perrin, John	gent, Victoria Place	18	£272.00
40	Hewlett, Daniel	gent, Sheep Street	18	£268.50
	No Name		16	£154.00

Sources: Rate books 1841 and Pigot's directory 1841

Table 6b: Leading owners (1851)

Owner	Description	Houses	Rateable value
Walker, Samuel sr	gent, Castle Hill	82	£762.50
Friendly Societies		66	£348.50
Billingham, Thomas	house agent,rate collr,Sheep St	58	£330.00
Roberts, Thomas	carpenter, shopkeeper, Bridge Street	58	£282.50
Charities		56	£737.00
Percival, John&Samuel	gent, Abington Street	56	£598.50
Porter, William	ironmonger, Drapery	52	£421.00
Roberts, George	baker, shopkpr,beer ret.,UppHarding St	51	£299.00
Scarborough, R J	gent, St.Giles's Street	45	£233.50
Horsey, Samuel	timber,slate&coal merch.Horsemarket	42	£425.50
Jones, Thomas	boot&shoe manufacturer, Mayorhold	41	£181.50
Groom, John&Richard	boot&shoe mfrs,leather sellers,Abington St	38	£405.00
Page, Robert	tailor, Sheep Street	37	£346.50
Mott, James	builder, Lady's Lane	37	£221.50
London Fire&Life Ass		35	£458.50
Wilson, Esther		35	£244.50
Strong, William	gent, Albion Place	33	£357.00
Jeffery, John	attorney, Parade	31	£268.50
Butcher, William	brickmaker&publican,Kettering Rd	31	£150.75
Stimpson, John jr	baker, The Green	29	£286.00
Smith, William & execs	shoe manufacturer, Fish Street	27	£250.50
Birdsall , Richard	bookbinder, Wood Street	24	£159.50
Mackness, Jesse	carpenter, Woolmonger Street	24	£123.50
Hull, William,sr&jr	architect, St'Giles's Street	23	£298.25
Jones, William sr&jr	boot&shoe manufacturer,StGiles'sSt	23	£257.50
Longland, J execs	carpenter, Sheep Street	23	£115.50
Masters, Edward	builder,beer retailer,StGeorge's St	22	£138.00
Whitworth Henry B	gent, banker, George Row	21	£495.50
Perrin, John	gent, Victoria Place	21	£296.50
Ireson, Charles	builder&timber merchanr, Bath St.	21	£272.50
Steevenson, Benjamin	gent, Spencer Parade	21	£261.00
Marriott, John execs	grocer,wine merchant,Market Sq.	21	£162.00
Benefit Club		21	£133.50
Cotton, Edward	boot&shoe manufacturer, Newland	21	£131.00
Tomalin, William	attorney, Market Square	20	£145.00
Atherton, Thomas	timber merchant, Cotton End	20	£131.50
Jones, John	boot&shoe manufacturer, Mayorhold	20	£122.00
Jackson, Samuel	carpenter, Western Terrace	20	£120.50
Humphrey, Sylvanus	chemist, Bridge Street	20	£106.50
Cosford, Robert	builder,AbingtonSt/Lady's Lane	19	£93.50
No Name		17	£225.50

Sources: Rate books 1851 and Kelly's directory 1854

Table 6c. Leading owners (1861)

	Owner	Description	Houses	Rateable value
1	Walker, Samuel	tailor&clothes dealer, Bearward St	98	798.50
2	Smith, James Bury		66	269.00
3	Whitworth, Henry B	borough treasurer, George Row	62	627.50
4	Johnson, Thomas	brickmaker, Leicester Rd	51	340.00
5	Ireson, Charles	brickmaker & builder, Bath St	49	709.75
6	Wilson, Esther		45	350.00
7	Scarborough, RJ	gent, St.Giles's Street	45	342.00
8	Gilbert. Thomas N	gent, Wellington Pl	44	251.00
9	Benefit Society		44	224.75
10	Jeffery, Sarah	gent, Derngate	44	191.00
11	Porter Thomas	publican, Silver St	42	173.50
12	Perrin, J	gent, Langham Place	39	317.50
13	Roberts, George	beer ret.,shopkpr.,baker,UpperHarding	39	249.50
14	Horsey, Samuel	gent, Sheep St	38	366.00
15	Colledge, Joseph	butcher, Regent Square	36	291.00
16	London Assurance		35	454.00
17	Union Bank		34	270.00
18	Club		33	200.00
19	Church Charities		32	374.50
20	Mott, executors	builder, Lady's Lane	31	222.25
21	Jones, William	boot & shoe manufacturer, Derngate	28	391.50
22	Roberts, Peter	builder, carp, beer &shop, York Rd	28	348.75
23	Charity Trustees		27	322.50
24	Turner, Henry	boot & shoe manufacturer, Leicester Terr	27	193.50
25	Porter, executors	ironmonger, Drapery	27	184.50
26	Robinson, William	boot & shoe manufacturer, St.Giles St	27	104.50
27	Groom, J&R	boot & shoe manufacturer, Abington St	26	177.75
28	Dennis, William	attorney, Sheep St	25	184.75
29	Devonshire, J	house agent, Bridge St	25	93.50
30	Watkin, James	builder,plumber,merchant,dealer	24	298.00
31	Whiting, James	stonemason, Derngate	24	264.50
32	Manning, Joseph	gent, Albion Place	24	259.50
33	Stimpson, executors	boot&shoe manufacturer, The Green	24	230.50
34	Wooding, Henry	builder & carpenter, Fetter Street	24	168.00
35	Cosford, Robert	builder & carpenter, Lady's Lane	24	149.50
36	Mackness, Jesse	carpenter, Woolmonger Street	24	118.75
37	Birdsall, Richard	bookbinder, Wood Street	23	166.50
38	Lloyd, J P	boot &shoe manufacturer, St George's St	23	155.50
39	Ambidge, George	butcher, Grafton St	23	153.00
40	Leeson, Thomas	grocer, Gas Street	23	119.00
	No Name		131	1,267.25

Sources: Rate books 1861 and Slater's directory, 1862.

Table 6d. Leading owners (1871)

	Owner	Description	Houses	Rateable value
1	Clubs		156	£858.75
2	Charities		103	£1,266.58
3	Smith, James Bury		68	£376.38
4	Green, Stephen	brick & tile maker, Upper Mount Street	65	£359.00
5	Marshall, Henry	boot&shoe manufacturer,Barrack Rd	58	£395.38
6	Phipps, Pickering	brewer, Bridge Street	53	£985.38
7	Union Bank		51	£817.75
8	Stimpson, J&F	boot & shoe manufacturer, Marefair	47	£589.88
9	Watkin, J	builder, St'George'sSt/merchant,SheepSt	47	£609.25
10	Scarborough, RJ	gent, St Giles Street	42	£234.00
11	Jeffery, Sarah	gent, Derngate	41	£158.50
12	Roberts, George	tobacconist, Mayorhold	39	£236.75
13	Jones, Spencer	ret shoe manufacturer, Semilong Terr	38	£263.00
14	Roberts, Peter	builder, York Terrace	37	£652.88
15	Cosford, T&R	builder, Lady's Lane	37	£418.75
16	Poole, Elijah	builder, Lawrence Street	37	£358.00
17	Wright, T or J	James W, house agent, Albert Street	37	£341.00
18	Groom, J execs	boot & shoe manufacturer, Abington St	35	£280.50
19	London Assurance		34	£489.50
20	Colledge, Joseph	ret butcher, Royal Terrace	34	£420.00
21	Collier, William	ret shoe manufacturer, Primrose Hill	33	£282.00
22	Leeson, Thomas	ret grocer, Gas Street	31	£132.88
23	Douglas, Thomas	solicitor, Bull Head Lane	30	£173.00
24	Mills, William	clothier, Bridge Street	28	£426.38
25	Perrin, J	whitesmith, Kingswell Street	28	£404.00
26	Wooding, H	shoe maker, Newland	28	£231.50
27	Webb, J		28	£173.00
28	Foster, J, John		28	£147.38
29	Porter, William	gent, St.Andrew's Terrace	27	£129.63
30	Robinson, William	shoe manufacturer, Wood Street	27	£117.50
31	Holding, Henry	builder, Abington Street	25	£335.00
32	Birdsall, Richard	bookbinder, Wood Street	25	£230.00
33	Ambidge, George	butcher, Union Place	25	£206.25
34	Turner, Henry	gent,Leicester Terr/b&s mfr.Fleetwood Pl	25	£206.00
35	Grant, James	ret grocer, Lawrence Street	25	£157.50
36	Blackwell, John	gent, Abington Street	24	£326.00
37	Manning, John	gent, Derngate	24	£297.25
38	Peach, J	gent, Billing Road	24	£230.88
39	Newton G F	currier, Marefair	24	£222.75
40	Walker, Samuel	gent, Castle Hill	24	£206.00
41	Ireson, execs	builder, Bath Street	22	£512.50

Sources: Rate books 1871 and Post Office Directory 1869.

Table 7: House owners and holdings, 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871.

houses owned	1841		1851		1861		1871	
	owners	houses	owners	houses	owners	houses	owners	houses
1	256	256	307	307	423	423	581	581
2	120	240	154	308	251	502	345	690
3	81	243	87	261	126	378	157	471
4	57	228	76	304	86	344	134	536
5	35	175	49	245	62	310	83	415
6	42	252	38	228	58	348	72	432
7	33	231	31	217	37	259	38	266
8	26	208	30	240	29	232	41	328
9	19	171	23	207	39	351	52	468
10	11	110	18	180	13	130	26	260
11	16	176	18	198	24	264	24	264
12	10	120	6	72	11	132	17	204
13	13	169	6	78	14	182	16	208
14	5	70	9	126	17	238	11	154
15	9	135	9	135	9	135	8	120
16	9	144	5	80	8	128	9	144
17	5	85	11	187	10	170	8	136
18	8	144	8	144	4	72	6	108
19	2	38	4	76	5	95	7	114
20	0	0	5	100	5	100	5	120
21-49	31	925	24	693	43	1283	45	1314
50 or more	5	297	7	442	5	408	6	392
1 to 5	549	1142	673	1425	948	1957	1300	2693
6 to 10	131	972	140	1072	176	1320	229	1754
11 to 20	77	1081	81	1196	107	1516	111	1572
all owners	793	4417	925	4828	1279	7277	1691	7725
ave, holding		5.57		5.22		5.69		4.57

Note: Rate books for St. Peter's parish before 1844 are missing. House totals for St. Peter's are based on 1841 census details. Sources: Rate books and censuses (enumerators' books)

See footnote to Table 1

Table 8: Commercial properties

	1844					1851				1861				1871				
Property	Mixed residential	Rateable value	Commercial	Rateable value	Commercial av r.v.	Mixed residential	Rateable value	Commercial	Rateable value	Mixed residential	Rateable value	Commercial	Rateable value	Mixed residential	Rateable value	Commercial	Rateable value	Commercial av r.v.
Warehouses	30	972.25	57	643.5	11.29	20	689.5	80	1008	13	461.5	124	1929.75	22	980.5	164	4796.55	29.25
Workshops	15	506	18	87.5	4.86	16	440.25	25	161	4	179	15	212	6	166	18	433.05	24.06
Premises	18	699.5	39	716.25	18.37	25	1082	44	462	21	1513	62	1087.75	12	952.13	35	3397.86	97.08
Shops	41	619.75	19	183.5	9.66	38	739.5	28	289.5	21	535	55	617.5	31	871.88	36	1089.38	30.26
Offices	5	148	10	211	21.1	1	130	7	109.5	0	0	25	452	0	0	26	552.88	21.26
Mill	0	0	1	85	85	1	40	1	85	1	85	0	0	0	0	2	126	63
Wharves	2	55	4	93.5	23.38	4	116	7	151.5	0	0	8	168.25	1	12	6	209.38	34.9
Bakehouses	33	620	1	11	11	28	474.5	4	33.5	3	52	5	36	6	96	3	18	6
Slaughterhouses	3	56	2	7.5	3.75	2	24	1	5	1	2	4	24.5	1	63	4	24.5	6.13
Other	2	12	2	8	4	4	40	39	213	4	17	46	295.5	0	0	33	448.31	13.59
Totals	149	3688.5	153	2046.75	13.38	139	3775.75	236	2518	68	2844.5	344	4823.25	79	3141.5	327	11095.91	33.93
Totals, Mixed&Comm.			302	5735.25	18.99			375	6293.75			412	7667.75			406	14,237.41	53.95

Source: Rate books

Table 9: structure of the population by gender and occupation, 1851 and 1871.

inhabitants		total	N born	N born %	V born	V born %	T born	T born %	E born	E born %
	1851	25673	12051	46.94	5218	20.32	2315	9.02	6070	23.64
male		12733	not calc.	not calc.	not calc.	not calc.	not calc.	not calc.	not calc.	not calc.
female		12940								
	1871	39622	19514	49.25	7371	18.60	3363	8.49	9374	23.66
male		19330	9557	49.44	3312	17.13	1660	8.59	4801	24.84
female		20292	9957	49.07	4059	20.00	1703	8.39	4573	22.54
workers										
	1851	13902	4815	34.64	3567	25.66	1661	11.95	3865	27.80
male		9112	3034	33.30	2177	23.89	1103	12.10	2798	30.71
female		4796	1781	37.14	1390	28.98	558	11.63	1067	22.25
	1871	19602	7230	36.89	4707	24.02	2209	11.27	5456	27.83
male		12810	4460	34.82	2923	22.82	1444	11.27	3983	31.09
female		6792	2770	40.78	1784	26.27	765	11.26	1473	21.69
shoe workers										
	1851	6039	2629	43.53	1099	18.20	1004	16.63	1307	21.64
male		4129	1557	37.71	800	19.38	736	17.83	1036	25.09
female		1910	1072	56.13	299	15.65	268	14.03	271	14.19
	1871	9134	4430	48.50	1531	16.76	1831	20.05	1850	20.25
male		6082	2612	42.95	1142	18.78	924	15.19	1404	23.08
female		3060	1818	59.41	389	12.71	407	13.30	446	14.58

Note: N born = born in Northampton, V born = born in local villages, T born = born in local townships, E born = born elsewhere

Source: censuses. (enumerators' books)

Table 10: The catchment area - employment, male and female, adults and juveniles,1871												
Origin	All	Adult males	Juv. Males	Adult females	Juv. Females	All (%)	% male	Adults	% adults	% male	Juveniles	% male
All	10753	3995	996	4513	1249	100	46.41	8508	79.12	46.96	2245	44.37
Not working (%)	3837	(1.25)	(57.63)	(57.01)	(51.24)	35.68	16.26	2623	68.36	1.91	1214	47.28
Working, non-shoe (%)	4054	(52.34)	(21.08)	(29.12)	(35.15)	37.70	56.76	3405	83.99	61.41	649	32.36
Shoe workers (%)	2862	(46.41)	(21.29)	(13.88)	(13.61)	26.62	72.19	2480	86.65	74.76	382	55.50
Northants rural villages	6336	2237	570	2754	775	100	44.30	4991	78.77	44.82	1345	42.38
Not working (%)	2360	(1.43)	(56.14)	(58.90)	(49.81)	37.25	14.92	1654	70.08	1.93	706	45.33
Working, non-shoe (%)	2768	(63.43)	(24.04)	(32.28)	(41.68)	43.69	56.21	2308	83.38	61.48	460	29.78
Shoe workers (%)	1208	(35.14)	(19.82)	(8.82)	(8.52)	19.07	74.42	1029	85.18	76.38	179	63.13
Shoe parishes (inc 11 shoe towns)	3194	1267	311	1247	367	100	49.44	2514	78.76	50.40	680	46.03
Non working (%)	1071	(1.03)	(61.41)	(53.57)	(54.22)	33.53	19.05	681	63.59	1.91	390	48.97
Working, non-shoe (%)	817	(32.91)	(14.15)	(21.25)	(24.8)	25.58	56.43	682	83.48	61.14	135	32.59
Shoe workers (%)	1306	(66.06)	(24.44)	(25.18)	(20.98)	40.89	70.06	1151	88.13	72.72	155	50.32
Townships (inc 11 shoe towns)	3368	1316	350	1328	371	100	49.55	2647	78.57	49.77	721	48.54
Non working (%)	1159	(0.61)	(61.14)	(53.99)	(58.49)	34.41	19.41	728	62.81	1.51	431	49.65
Working, non-shoe (%)	878	(35.84)	(14.57)	(21.76)	(18.6)	26.07	59.23	758	86.33	61.87	120	42.50
Shoe workers (%)	1331	(63.75)	(24.29)	(24.27)	(22.91)	39.52	69.42	1161	87.23	72.27	170	50.00
Market towns (10)	779	297	73	334	75	100	47.50	631	81.00	47.07	148	49.32
Non working (%)	260	(0.34)	(53.42)	(54.79)	(49.33)	33.38	11.54	184	70.77	0.54	76	51.32
Working, non-shoe (%)	288	(49.83)	(26.03)	(30.84)	(24.00)	36.97	57.99	251	87.15	58.96	37	51.35
Shoe workers (%)	231	(49.83)	(20.55)	(14.37)	(26.67)	29.65	70.56	196	84.85	75.51	35	42.86
Bucks and Beds villages	444	194	40	178	32	100	52.70	372	83.78	52.15	72	55.56
Not working (%)	146	(2.06)	(60.00)	(56.18)	(56.25)	32.88	19.18	104	71.72	3.85	42	57.14
Working, non-shoe (%)	181	(55.15)	(25.00)	(32.02)	(21.88)	40.77	64.64	164	90.61	65.24	17	58.82
Shoe workers (%)	117	(42.78)	(15.00)	(11.80)	(21.88)	26.35	76.07	104	88.89	79.81	13	46.15

Note: catchment area includes rural villages, shoe parishes (villages and towns), market towns and Bucks and Beds villages.
Source: enumerators' books, 1871 census

Table 11 a: Longer-range migrants, by Age, Gender, Occupation and Birthplace

Origin	Migrants	% male	% juveniles	All workers	Shoeworkers	% shoe workers	adult male workers	% shoe	juv.male workers	% shoe	adult female workers	% shoe	juv. female workers	% shoe
Contiguous counties	3443	49.03	20.16	2040	623	30.54	1296	30.71	123	43.09	525	24.76	97	44.33
Distant counties	5091	51.90	25.99	2887	1049	36.34	1990	36.68	168	45.24	581	28.23	149	53.02
Wales	80	51.25	17.50	42	15	35.71	34	38.24	1	0.00	6	33.33	1	0.00
Scotland	171	64.33	12.28	122	38	31.40	99	35.35	3	33.33	18	22.22	4	0.00
Ireland	326	55.52	11.66	213	84	39.44	158	42.20	7	85.71	43	23.26	5	40.00
I of Man	4	25.00	75.00	1	0	0.00	1	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00
Abroad	180	52.78	33.33	101	24	23.76	63	19.05	8	50.00	24	25.00	6	33.33
Unknown	79	54.43	18.99	46	14	30.43	29	24.14	3	100.00	14	28.57	0	0.00
Total	9374	51.22	23.13	5452	1847	33.88	3670	34.36	313	45.69	1211	26.42	262	48.09
Adjacent towns	887	49.72	24.13	496	187	37.70	325	36.62	29	51.72	119	34.45	20	55.00
Contiguous excl.towns	2556	48.79	18.78	1544	436	28.24	1090	25.60	109	34.86	447	19.91	88	36.36
Distant counties ex cities	3700	51.95	22.00	2164	698	32.26	1513	32.72	107	39.25	442	25.57	103	46.60
Distant cities ex London	549	53.11	35.21	823	415	50.43	557	50.99	64	57.81	151	39.74	51	66.67
Birmingham	171	42.69	39.18	72	34	47.22	42	42.86	8	37.50	19	57.89	3	66.67
Leicester	200	54.50	24.00	111	50	45.37	82	43.90	3	66.67	20	45.00	3	66.67
London (LCC)	1391	51.76	36.59	723	351	48.55	477	49.27	61	55.74	139	36.69	46	67.39
Manchester	40	77.50	27.50	28	10	35.71	22	31.82	0	0.00	5	60.00	1	0.00
Stafford	88	54.54	25.00	47	41	87.23	36	88.89	1	100.00	6	83.33	4	75.00
Bristol	40	72.50	17.50	25	13	52.00	22	45.45	2	100.00	1	100	0	0.00
Warks	652	43.87	26.84	350	100	28.57	201	26.86	25	36.00	103	29.13	21	33.33
Leics	725	49.79	20.00	420	117	27.86	281	29.89	19	36.84	100	19.00	17	35.29
Rutland	86	45.35	12.79	49	9	18.37	33	15.15	1	100.00	14	14.29	1	100.00
Northants (part)	201	42.29	15.42	119	35	29.41	59	30.51	7	28.57	47	29.79	7	42.86
Hunts	291	51.20	19.59	175	60	34.29	119	33.61	11	54.55	37	24.32	8	62.50
Beds	653	53.60	20.06	414	146	35.27	283	34.98	25	56.00	87	27.59	19	47.37
Bucks	551	52.81	16.70	364	109	29.95	228	28.51	25	40.00	95	23.16	19	63.16
Oxon	284	44.72	18.31	149	47	31.54	92	35.87	10	40.00	42	23.81	5	0

Contiguous counties are Warks, Leics, Rutland, N. N'hants, Hunts, Beds, Bucks and Oxon. London and other specified cities included in Distant counties.
Adjacent towns and cities are Birmingham, Rugby, Market Harborough, Leicester, Peterborough, Bedford, Newport Pagnell, Stony Stratford and Banbury.
Note: Some definitions overlap.
Source: census 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 11 b: Longer Distant County migrants by Age, Gender and Occupation (excluding London)

Origin	Migrants	% male	% juveniles	All workers	Shoeworkers	% shoe workers	adult male workers	% shoe	juv.male workers	% shoe	adult female workers	% shoe	juv. Female workers	% shoe
Berks	69	55.07	17.39	42	9	21.43	31	19.35	0	0	9	22.22	2	50.00
Cambs	179	49.72	18.44	117	60	51.28	76	56.58	10	50.00	25	32.00	6	66.67
Cheshire	60	56.67	33.33	34	11	32.35	23	30.43	1	0	8	37.50	2	0
Cornwall	23	47.83	4.35	17	4	23.53	11	27.27	0	0	6	16.67	0	0
Cumberld	21	52.38	23.81	14	11	78.57	10	70.00	0	0	2	100.00	2	100.00
Derbys	104	51.92	24.04	61	10	16.39	43	9.30	4	100.00	10	0	4	50.00
Devon	104	49.04	19.23	52	12	23.08	41	26.83	1	0	9	0	1	100
Dorset	40	50.00	12.50	18	3	16.67	17	17.65	0	0	1	0	0	0
Durham	14	42.86	35.71	9	3	33.33	4	25.00	2	50.00	2	0	1	100.00
Essex	118	49.15	12.71	71	25	35.21	52	36.54	0	0	16	25.00	3	66.67
Gloucs	184	55.43	13.04	126	41	32.54	82	36.59	6	50.00	32	21.88	6	16.67
Hants	160	49.38	33.13	88	21	23.86	53	20.75	4	25.00	22	18.18	9	55.56
Herts	124	50.00	18.55	75	26	34.67	47	38.30	6	0	21	33.33	1	100.00
Herefd	21	33.33	19.05	8	0	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Kent	210	48.57	24.76	110	22	20.00	81	19.75	2	0	25	24.00	2	0
Lancs	195	65.13	25.64	130	43	33.08	101	29.70	5	60.00	18	44.44	6	33.33
Lincs	284	47.89	17.61	181	49	27.07	119	26.05	9	44.44	44	22.73	9	44.44
Middx	81	56.79	25.93	52	15	28.85	33	33.33	6	50.00	11	9.09	2	50.00
Norfolk	252	56.35	18.25	161	60	37.27	121	38.84	7	42.86	28	21.43	5	80.00
N'hmblnd	20	75.00	15.00	16	5	31.25	14	35.71	1	0	0	0	1	0
Notts	137	54.74	19.71	80	19	23.75	59	20.34	4	75.00	14	21.43	3	33.33
Shrops	54	46.30	25.93	25	9	36.00	20	45.00	1	0	2	0	2	0
Som'set	83	61.45	9.64	56	18	32.14	46	32.61	0	0	9	22.22	1	100.00
Staffs	327	48.93	33.33	170	91	53.53	105	54.29	10	50.00	37	45.95	18	66.67
Suffolk	145	51.72	12.41	93	37	39.78	64	42.19	5	80.00	21	28.57	3	0
Surrey	95	47.37	17.89	55	15	27.27	37	32.43	2	0	15	20.00	1	0
Sussex	78	52.56	14.10	44	11	25.00	34	26.47	1	0	9	22.22	0	0
W'mlnd	21	47.62	42.86	12	3	25.00	4	50.00	4	0	3	33.33	1	0
Wilts	86	58.14	17.44	51	14	27.45	38	31.58	0	0	12	8.50	1	100.00
Worcs	113	52.21	32.74	53	15	28.30	44	31.82	2	0	6	16.67	3	0
Yorks	294	47.62	26.87	139	36	25.90	96	23.96	12	25.00	24	33.33	7	28.57

Source: census 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 12. Gender balance **1851, 1871, New streets and old - skewed distribution**

					Streets with low % of females				Streets with medium % of females				Streets with high % of females			
	population	females	% female	streets	streets	population	females	% female	streets	population	females	% female	streets	population	females	% female
Northampton 1851	25512	12869	50.44	247	53	4573	1952	42.69	138	16480	8254	50.08	56	4459	2653	59.50
Northampton 1871	39890	20423	51.20	334	44	3278	1403	42.80	199	28476	14212	49.91	91	8101	4797	59.21
1871 older streets	30810	15722	51.03	245	32	2510	1074	42.79	146	22101	11001	49.78	67	6171	3636	58.92
1871 newer streets	9080	4701	51.77	89	12	768	329	42.84	53	6375	3211	50.37	24	1930	1161	60.16
					low=0-45%				medium = 45.1-55%				high=>55%			

Source: Censuses 1851 and 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 13. Northampton-born **1851, 1871, New streets and old - skewed distribution**

					Streets with low % of N- born workers				Streets with medium % of N-born workers				Streets with high % of N-born workers			
	population	N-born	% N-born	streets	streets	population	N-born	% N-born	streets	population	N-born	% N-born	streets	population	N-born	% N-born
Northampton 1851	25512	11869	46.52	247	64	5275	1787	33.88	159	18722	9153	48.89	24	1247	850	68.16
Northampton 1871	39890	19547	49.00	334	89	7923	2790	35.21	201	27578	14046	50.93	44	4299	2777	64.60
1871 older streets	30810	15530	50.41	245	52	4457	1623	36.41	158	22610	11570	51.17	35	3758	2433	64.74
1871 newer streets	9080	4017	44.24	89	37	3466	1167	33.67	43	4968	2476	49.84	9	541	344	63.59
					low=0-40%				medium =40.1-60%				high=>60%			

Source: Censuses 1851 and 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 14: Local-born, gender and age profiles (selected streets), 1871

Street	inhab	% N-born	% male	adults	% adults	juveniles	% juveniles	aged 55+	% aged 55+	aged 0-5	% age 0-5
Scarletwell St	544	59.74	50.18	307	56.43	237	43.57	42	7.72	94	17.28
Scarletwell St Cts	183	50.82	52.46	103	56.28	78	42.62	22	12.02	33	18.03
Gt Russell St	740	51.08	52.43	445	60.14	295	39.86	55	7.43	131	17.70
Bridge Street Courts	573	51.13	50.09	320	55.85	253	44.15	55	9.60	105	18.32
Bridge Street Courts	558	52.12	51.08	305	54.66	253	45.34	56	10.04	105	18.82
Alexandra&Denmark Sts	459	36.17	42.92	304	66.23	155	33.77	53	11.55	65	14.16
Upp&Lr Thrift Sts.	457	43.11	48.58	249	54.49	208	45.51	34	7.44	77	16.85
Castle site streets	314	56.05	50.32	177	56.37	136	43.63	17	5.41	71	22.61
Riding	208	58.65	47.12	110	52.88	98	47.12	21	10.10	31	14.90
Gold St	287	42.16	43.55	180	62.72	107	37.28	19	6.62	19	6.62
Woolmonger & Ct	306	51.31	45.10	180	58.82	126	41.18	29	9.48	55	17.97
Castle St	283	51.94	48.76	160	56.54	123	43.46	23	8.13	50	17.67
Langham Place	145	31.72	31.72	90	62.07	55	37.93	13	9.09	22	15.38
U&Lr Harding &Terr	563	53.58	54.10	309	54.88	254	45.12	53	9.41	98	17.41
Waterloo & Spencer St	342	33.33	31.87	261	76.32	81	23.68	66	19.30	18	5.26
Cow Lane SG&AS	321	46.11	51.71	188	58.57	133	41.43	34	10.59	65	20.25
Cow Lane Terraces	350	43.71	44.00	188	53.71	133	38.00	24	6.86	74	21.15
Alfred St	94	48.94	46.81	55	58.51	39	41.49	13	13.83	18	19.15
Cyril St & Victoria Rd	216	36.57	48.15	123	56.94	93	43.06	15	6.94	35	16.20
Ecton St Area	217	43.32	49.31	117	53.92	100	46.08	11	5.07	48	22.12
Horsemarket exc.courts	367	52.86	45.23	205	55.86	162	44.14	31	8.45	67	18.26
Deal St Area	684	52.19	52.49	371	54.24	313	45.76	45	6.58	136	19.88
Abington Street	513	38.79	37.23	362	70.76	151	29.43	56	10.92	26	5.07

Source: Census 1871

Table 15: Age pyramid by places of birth, 1871 (20% sample)

Males						Females					Total				
Total males	Elsewhere	Towns	Villages	Northampton	Age	Northampton	Villages	Towns	Elsewhere	Total females	Northampton	Villages	Towns	Elsewhere	All
339	120	48	85	86	55 +	103	109	54	138	404	189	194	102	258	743
31	12	1	8	10	54	10	7	4	14	35	20	15	5	26	66
32	9	5	10	8	53	6	11	2	3	22	14	21	7	12	54
29	6	3	7	13	52	14	13	3	14	44	27	20	6	20	73
29	7	7	9	6	51	7	8	2	9	26	13	17	9	16	55
40	12	5	11	12	50	13	9	6	15	43	25	20	11	27	83
40	14	6	7	13	49	6	9	7	11	33	19	16	13	25	73
41	18	7	8	8	48	14	9	6	17	46	22	17	13	35	87
40	21	3	6	10	47	4	8	6	14	32	14	14	9	35	72
34	12	7	6	9	46	12	9	4	11	36	21	15	11	23	70
37	14	6	11	6	45	11	11	2	16	40	17	22	8	30	77
41	17	7	7	10	44	15	15	4	19	53	25	22	11	36	94
29	16	4	1	8	43	14	11	6	9	40	26	12	10	25	69
52	22	3	14	13	42	13	16	8	10	47	17	30	11	32	99
42	21	2	8	11	41	6	10	5	18	39	17	18	7	39	81
52	28	5	8	11	40	7	17	6	20	50	18	25	11	48	102
40	15	7	6	12	39	11	18	7	19	55	23	24	14	34	95
45	14	3	14	14	38	17	18	1	14	50	31	32	4	28	95
52	23	4	13	12	37	12	10	11	16	49	24	23	15	39	101
57	22	8	10	17	36	15	14	8	18	55	32	24	16	40	112
57	25	10	5	17	35	12	16	5	14	47	29	21	15	39	104
60	20	6	14	20	34	17	21	4	14	56	37	35	10	34	116
54	20	4	12	18	33	13	11	4	16	44	31	23	8	36	98
51	12	10	10	19	32	22	19	7	27	75	41	29	17	39	126
58	24	7	9	18	31	16	16	10	17	59	34	25	17	41	117
68	22	8	21	17	30	31	15	6	27	79	48	36	14	49	147
60	23	9	11	17	29	26	19	9	32	86	43	30	18	55	146
57	19	3	10	25	28	23	23	6	25	77	48	33	9	44	134
70	27	11	10	22	27	21	21	8	21	71	43	31	19	48	141
73	31	5	17	20	26	28	10	7	36	81	48	27	12	67	154
83	36	7	19	21	25	32	29	5	20	86	53	48	12	56	169
72	22	6	11	33	24	41	22	1	23	87	74	33	7	45	159
74	21	2	18	33	23	38	19	6	15	78	71	37	8	36	152
59	17	7	18	17	22	33	14	6	23	76	50	32	13	40	135
73	25	7	15	26	21	48	25	14	17	104	74	40	21	42	177
78	30	9	15	24	20	37	28	12	23	100	61	43	21	53	178
86	23	13	11	39	19	31	27	9	21	88	70	38	22	44	174
86	11	10	18	47	18	43	25	10	16	94	90	43	20	27	180
68	16	3	17	32	17	49	24	8	28	109	81	41	11	44	177
94	17	12	14	51	16	50	30	8	16	104	101	44	20	33	198
87	16	8	12	51	15	52	28	8	9	97	103	40	16	25	184
87	11	8	10	58	14	50	24	4	16	94	108	34	12	27	181
75	15	4	8	48	13	44	16	6	13	79	92	24	10	28	154
77	14	2	8	53	12	62	6	7	19	94	115	14	9	33	171
63	11	2	8	42	11	65	10	4	13	92	107	18	6	24	155
76	14	3	4	55	10	58	4	2	19	83	113	8	5	33	159
79	17	5	2	55	9	52	8	7	16	83	107	10	12	33	162
86	16	2	1	67	8	51	8	6	10	75	118	9	8	26	161
85	13	3	3	66	7	71	4	3	21	99	137	7	6	34	184
104	17	6	8	73	6	77	5	4	16	102	150	13	10	33	206
116	21	1	5	89	5	78	3	2	18	101	167	8	3	39	217
106	16	3	5	82	4	68	3	4	9	84	150	8	7	25	190
112	13	1	6	92	3	92	2	4	9	107	184	8	5	22	219
103	9	0	1	93	2	98	2	5	6	111	191	3	5	15	214
134	7	1	3	123	1	88	4	2	8	102	211	7	3	15	236
132	5	1	1	125	0	140	2	0	2	144	265	3	1	7	276
4005	1079	340	609	1977		2067	875	365	1040	4347	4039	1484	705	2119	8352
	26.94%	8.49%	15.51	49.36		47.55%	20.13%	8.40%	23.92%		48.36%	17.77%	8.44%	25.37%	

Source: 1871 census (enumerators' books)

Table 16: Workers and shoe workers by gender and age. 1851

All male shoeworkers	All male workers	% male shoe workers	Adult male shoeworkers	% all adult male workers	Juv m shoeworkers	% all juv.male workers	Infant m shoeworkers	% all infant male workers
4120	9024	45.66	3235	42.97	590	52.03	297	79.15

All female shoeworkers	All female workers	% all female workers	adult female shoeworkers	% adult female workers	juv.female shoe workers	% juv.female workers	infant female shoeworkers	% infant female shoe
1897	4680	40.53	1182	34.20	475	50.91	248	82.67

Sources: 1851 census (enumerators' books)

Table 17: Shoe workers, 1851 and 1871, New streets and old.

						Streets with low % of shoe workers				Streets with medium % of shoe workers				Streets with high % of shoe workers			
	population	workers	shoe workers	% shoe workers	streets	streets	workers	shoe	% shoe	streets	workers	shoe	% shoe	streets	workers	shoe	% shoe
Northampton 1851	25512	13743	6033	43.90	247	60	3283	248	7.55	109	5630	2177	38.67	78	4830	3608	74.70
Northampton 1871	39890	19778	9270	46.87	334	72	3981	350	8.79	152	8563	3672	42.88	110	7234	5248	72.55
1871 older streets	30810	15644	7161	45.77	245	54	3447	301	8.73	109	6498	2750	42.32	82	5699	4110	72.12
1871 newer streets	9080	4134	2109	51.02	89	18	534	49	9.18	43	2065	922	44.65	28	1535	1138	74.14

low=0-20% medium =20.1-60% high=>60%

Source: Censuses 1851 and 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 18: Northampton-born population in value bands, 1851 and 1871

Location	whole town				poorest streets (rated only)				lower-middle streets (rated only)			
	streets	born in N'ptn	all inhabitants	% born in N'ptn	streets	born in N'ptn	All inhabitants	% born in N'ptn	streets	born in N'ptn	All inhabitants	% born in N'ptn
Northampton 1851	246	11594	24889	46.58	87	4130	8531	48.41	101	4827	10053	48.02
rated only in 1871	329	19335	39374	49.11	71	3717	6780	54.82	155	10755	21391	50.28
1871 "old" streets	245	15530	30817	50.39	66	3491	6338	55.08	112	8280	15935	51.96
1871 "new" streets	84	3805	8557	44.47	5	226	442	51.13	43	2475	5456	45.36
1871 unrated streets	5	212	516	41.09								

rated up to £1 per head rated £1.01-£2 per head

Location	whole town				upper-middle streets (rated only)				richest streets (rated only)			
	streets	born in N'ptn	all inhabitants	% born in N'ptn	streets	born in N'ptn	All inhabitants	% born in N'ptn	streets	born in N'ptn	All inhabitants	% born in N'ptn
Northampton 1851	246	11594	24889	46.58	32	1706	3749	45.51	26	959	2612	36.72
rated only in 1871	329	19335	39374	49.11	63	3517	6757	52.05	40	1706	4446	38.37
1871 "old" streets	245	15530	30817	50.39	36	2627	4721	55.64	31	1492	3823	39.03
1871 "new" streets	84	3805	8557	44.47	27	890	2036	43.71	9	214	623	34.35
1871 unrated streets	5	212	516	41.09								

rated £2.01-£4 per head rated above £4 per head

Table 19: Shoe workers in rateable value bands, 1851 and 1871

Location	whole town				poorest streets (rated only)				lower-middle streets (rated only)			
	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoe workers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoe workers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoeworkers
Northampton 1851	246	5976	13668	43.72	87	2797	4667	59.93	101	2689	5295	50.78
Northampton 1871	329	9035	19400	46.57	71	2190	3217	68.08	155	5750	10421	55.18
1871 "old" streets	245	7055	15450	45.66	66	2040	3000	68.00	112	4252	7892	53.88
1871 "new" streets	84	1980	3950	50.13	5	150	217	69.12	43	1498	2529	59.23
1871 unrated streets	5	121	209	57.89	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na

rated up to £1 per head rated £1.01-£2 per head

Location	whole town				upper-middle streets (rated only)				richest streets (rated only)			
	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoe workers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoe workers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoeworkers
Northampton 1851	246	5976	13668	43.72	32	433	2197	19.71	26	57	1509	3.78
Northampton 1871	329	9035	19400	46.57	63	969	3386	29.13	40	164	2446	6.70
1871 "old" streets	245	7055	15450	45.66	36	656	2481	26.44	31	145	2147	6.75
1871 "new" streets	84	1980	3950	50.13	27	313	905	34.59	9	19	299	6.35
1871 unrated streets	5	121	209	57.89	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na

rated £2.01-£4 per head rated above £4 per head

Source: rate books and censuses, 1851 and 1871. (enumerators' books)

Table 19: Shoe workers in rateable value bands, 1851 and 1871

Location	whole town				poorest streets (rated only)				lower-middle streets (rated only)			
	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoe workers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoe workers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoeworkers
Northampton 1851	246	5976	13668	43.72	87	2797	4667	59.93	101	2689	5295	50.78
Northampton 1871	329	9035	19400	46.57	71	2190	3217	68.08	155	5750	10421	55.18
1871 "old" streets	245	7055	15450	45.66	66	2040	3000	68.00	112	4252	7892	53.88
1871 "new" streets	84	1980	3950	50.13	5	150	217	69.12	43	1498	2529	59.23
1871 unrated streets	5	121	209	57.89	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na

rated up to £1 per head rated £1.01-£2 per head

Location	whole town				upper-middle streets (rated only)				richest streets (rated only)			
	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoe workers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoeworkers	streets	shoe workers	all workers	% shoeworkers
Northampton 1851	246	5976	13668	43.72	32	433	2197	19.71	26	57	1509	3.78
Northampton 1871	329	9035	19400	46.57	63	969	3386	29.13	40	164	2446	6.70
1871 "old" streets	245	7055	15450	45.66	36	656	2481	26.44	31	145	2147	6.75
1871 "new" streets	84	1980	3950	50.13	27	313	905	34.59	9	19	299	6.35
1871 unrated streets	5	121	209	57.89	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na

rated £2.01-£4 per head rated above £4 per head

Sources: Rate books and censuses 1851 and 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 20. Stability, migration and contra-flows, 1851-71

			1871									1851		
Place	Population, 1871	Migrants from Nptn	Including shoe workers	N migrants/%pop	Migrants to Nptn	Migration quotient	Migrants into/%out	% born locally 1871	population 1851	population 1851	% change 1851-71	Migrants from Nptn	Migrants from N (%)	Migr from N 71(51=100)	% born locally (51)
Blakesley	495	5	0	1.01	29	5.58	17.24	62.63	520		95.19	0	0	0	62.03
Brixworth	1032	18	0	1.62	120	10.61	15.00	62.69	1031		100.1	13	1.26	138	71.97
Byfield	840	4	0	0.48	23	2.25	17.39	64.64	1021		82.27	4	0.39	100	69.05
Cold Ashby	402	1	0	0.25	25	5.35	4.00	61.44	467		86.08	3	0.64	33	61.03
Daventry&Drayton	3948	108	34	2.74	367	8.72	25.89	54.56	4207		93.87	107	2.54	101	54.6
Desborough	1436	2	0	0.14	26	1.93	7.69	77.02	1350		106.37	3	0.22	67	79.38
Duston	1640	183	38	11.16	182	16.49	100.55	nn	714		229.69	17	2.38	1076	62.04
Duston(Village)	646	43	7	6.65	na	na	na	57.81	447		144.52	5	0.89	860	73.15
Earls Barton	1905	34	9	1.78	131	10.26	25.95	73.07	447		149.18	23	1.81	148	70.00
Ecton	629	14	0	2.23	96	15.21	14.58	63.75	631		99.68	13	2.06	108	59.01
Eydon	531	0	0	0	17	2.74	0.00	52.84	621		85.51	0	0	na	57.82
Farthingstone	339	0	0	0	26	8.47	0.00	70.21	307		110.42	0	0	na	65.15
Geddington	882	2	0	0.23	23	2.59	8.70	68.45	887		99.44	7	0.84	28	69.99
Guilsborough	571	6	2	1.05	52	7.77	11.54	53.05	669		85.35	9	1.35	67	49.63
Hanslope	1726	4	0	0.30	90	5.61	4.44	76.43	1604		107.61	3	0.19	133	78.55
Harpole	824	20	1	2.43	111	14.27	18.02	72.94	778		105.91	14	1.80	143	67.99
Holcot	404	7	1	1.73	134	25.79	5.22	65.33	508		79.53	9	1.73	78	69.55
Kettering	7083	156	68	2.20	389	7.67	40.10	58.49	5074		139.6	38	0.79	411	65.61
Kingsthorpe(Village)	2409	90	13	4.69	311	19.61	28.94	63.97	1586		151.89	81	5.11	111	64.82
Kislingbury	669	16	3	2.39	127	18.41	12.6	68.46	690		96.96	19	2.75	84	64.06
Long Buckby	2493	68	14	2.73	250	10.68	27.20	70.76	2341		106.49	32	1.37	213	68.55
Naseby	693	3	0	0.43	45	5.31	0.00	67.10	848		81.72	4	0.47	75	70.61
Olney	2741	24	2	0.90	188	8.07	12.77	58.57	2329		117.69	14	0.6	171	64.55
Oundle	2868	12	0	0.45	94	3.13	12.77	52.26	2760		116.59	13	0.47	92	52.86
Paulerspury	1220	5	0	0.41	29	2.50	17.24	nn	1162		104.99	3	0.26	167	75.13
Potterspury	1045	2	0	0.19	31	2.92	6.45	nn	1061		98.49	4	0.38	50	73.88
Raunds	2580	35	10	1.36	148	7.91	23.65	68.37	1870		137.97	10	0.53	350	72.78
Ringstead	875	2	0	0.23	25	3.44	8.00	70.29	727		120.36	0	0	na	63.82
Roade	676	19	0	2.81	73	10.50	26.03	47.63	695		97.27	10	1.44	190	51.94
Rothwell	2375	16	1	0.68	111	4.82	14.41	70.47	2278		104.36	7	0.31	229	68.66
Silverstone	1168	5	0	0.43	30	2.65	16.67	74.29	1134		103	3	0.26	167	73.72
Spratton	829	23	3	2.77	120	12.28	19.17	61.40	961		86.26	15	1.52	153	66.78
Towcester	2677	51	4	1.95	369	14.21	13.82	52.80	2665		100.45	21	0.79	243	60.11
Walgrave	660	5	1	0.76	77	12.56	6.49	70.45	613		107.67	12	1.96	42	67.54
Wellingborough	9385	229	63	2.44	591	11.46	38.74	46.71	5297		177.18	89	1.68	257	60.83
West Haddon	903	8	0	0.88	57	5.76	14.04	62.21	989		91.30	13	1.31	62	62.79
Weston Favell	470	32	2	7.02	92	18.11	34.78	53.19	508		92.52	18	3.54	178	59.45
Wollaston	1394	11	1	0.79	87	6.90	12.64	67.81	1261		110.55	18	1.43	61	64.39
Yardley Hastings	1188	4	0	0.34	56	4.63	7.14	80.98	1210		98.18	3	0.25	133	81.82

Note: percentages are based on resident populations, excluding institutions, eg workhouses.

Source: censuses, 1851 and 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 21: The catchment area, males, juveniles, workers and shoe workers & migration quotients, 1871.

Parishes	Population 1871	Population 1851	Migrants in N, 1871	Migration quotient	Male migrants	male %	juveniles% all migrants	all workers	shoeworkers% all workers
10 market towns	20925	19378	781	4.10	370	47.38	18.95	519	44.51
11 shoe towns	37897	28845	2602	9.02	1290	49.58	21.68	1694	64.94
10 shoe villages	8,845	7141	604	8.46	279	46.19	17.72	433	47.58
21 shoe parishes	46742	35986	3206	8.91	1569	48.94	20.93	2127	61.40
21 towns	58822	48223	3383	7.02	1660	49.07	21.05	2213	60.14
Northants villages	105582	104360	6322	6.06	2800	44.29	21.42	3975	30.62
Bucks villages	8380	8053	284	3.53	148	52.11	13.38	191	39.27
Bedfords villages	4970	4981	161	3.23	85	52.80	20.50	107	39.25
Total	186599	172758	10754	6.22	4972	46.23	20.87	6919	41.49

Note: shoe towns and shoe villages are included in shoe parishes, market towns and shoe towns are included in towns.
Market towns, shoe towns and shoe parishes are excluded from the total.
Migration quotients = Migrants in Northampton in 1871 as percentage of source population in 1851.
Sources: census, 1851 and 1871. (enumerators' books)

Table 22: The catchment area, males, females, juveniles, non-workers and shoe-workers, 1871

Parishes	Adult males	% not working	Adult male shoeworkers	% male workers	juvenile males	% not working	juv.male shoeworkers	% juv male workers
10 market towns	297	0.34	148	50.00	73	53.42	15	44.12
11 shoe towns	1019	0.69	691	68.28	277	63.18	70	68.63
10 shoe villages	245	1.22	146	60.33	36	44.44	8	40.00
21 shoe parishes	1267	1.03	837	66.75	313	61.02	78	63.93
21 towns	1319	0.83	839	64.14	350	61.14	85	62.50
Northants villages	2237	1.43	786	35.65	570	56.14	113	45.20
Bucks villages	129	3.10	55	44.00	20	65.00	1	14.29
Bedfords villages	65	0.00	28	43.08	20	55.00	5	55.56
Total	3995	1.25	1854	47.00	996	57.63	212	50.24

	adult females	% not working	adult female shoeworkers	% adult female workers	juv females	% not working	juv.female shoeworkers	% juv.female workers
10 market towns	334	54.79	48	31.79	75	49.33	20	52.63
11 shoe towns	994	53.72	274	59.57	296	60.81	65	56.03
10 shoe villages	253	52.96	40	33.61	71	26.76	12	23.08
21 shoe parishes	1247	53.57	314	54.23	367	54.22	77	45.83
21 towns	1328	53.99	322	52.70	371	58.49	85	55.19
Northants villages	2754	58.90	243	21.47	775	49.81	66	16.97
Bucks villages	115	57.39	16	32.65	19	47.37	3	30.00
Bedfords villages	63	53.97	5	17.24	13	69.23	4	100.00
Total	4513	57.01	626	32.27	1249	51.24	170	27.91

Source: 1871 census (enumerators' books)

Note: market towns and shoe towns are included in towns, shoe towns and shoe villages are included in shoe parishes. market towns, shoe towns and shoe parishes are excluded from the total.

Table 23 a: Migration rates from towns, shoe villages and adjacent parishes compared, 1871.

Place	Population 1851	Migrants in N 1871	Migration quotient
KETTERING	5198	398	7.66
Neighbours	5013	198	3.95
Weekley	265	1	0.38
Warkton	309	11	3.56
Barton Seagrave	207	10	4.83
Pytchley	606	21	3.47
Broughton	691	20	2.89
Cransley	309	16	5.18
Thorpe Malsor	287	5	1.74
Rothwell	2301	113	4.91
Glendon	38	1	2.63
WELLINGBOROUGH	5297	608	11.48
Neighbours	5793	314	5.42
Gt Harrowden	137	2	1.46
Finedon	1588	88	5.54
Irthlingborough	1577	68	4.31
Irchester	960	30	3.13
Gt Doddington	493	29	5.88
Wilby	468	39	8.33
Mears Ashby	489	54	11.04
Hardwick	81	4	4.94
DAVENTRY	4430	355	8.01
Neighbours	4148	124	2.99
Welton	663	20	3.02
Norton	579	21	3.63
Newnham	579	28	4.84
Badby	596	19	3.19
Staverton	478	14	2.93
Braunston	1253	22	1.76
TOWCESTER	2665	379	14.22
Neighbours	4530	188	4.15
Greens Norton	857	80	9.33
Easton Neston	170	6	3.53
Paulerspury	1162	29	2.50
Whittlebury	707	36	5.09
Silverstone	1134	30	2.65
Abthorpe	500	7	1.40
BRACKLEY	2277	48	2.11
Neighbours	2684	59	2.20
Radstone	168	6	3.57
Whitfield	326	19	5.83
Turweston	322	3	0.90
Evenley	489	3	0.61
Hinton-in-the-Hedges	157	3	1.91
Steane	30	0	0
Farthinghoe	416	8	1.92
Greatworth	135	3	2.22
Stuchbury	38	0	0
Helmdon	603	14	2.32

Place	Population in 1851	Migrants in N 1871	Migration Quotient
LONG BUCKBY	2341	255	10.89
Neighbours	4974	325	6.53
West Haddon	989	59	6.00
Ravensthorpe	467	68	14.56
East Haddon	650	73	11.23
Brington	766	54	7.05
Whilton	357	13	3.64
Norton	579	21	3.63
Welton	663	20	3.02
Watford	503	17	3.38
ROTHWELL	2301	113	4.91
Neighbours	2769	66	2.38
Rushton	429	7	1.63
Glendon	38	1	2.63
Thorpe Malsor	287	5	1.74
Orton	90	2	2.22
Harrington	201	9	4.48
Desborough	1350	26	1.93
Faxton	95	5	5.26
Loddington	279	11	3.94
OLNEY	2265	205	9.05
Neighbours	3619	119	3.29
Yardley Hastings	1210	56	4.63
Easton Maudit	217	7	3.23
Lavendon	769	19	2.47
Clifton Reynes	217	1	0.46
Emberton	613	8	1.31
Weston Underwood	405	8	6.91
Tyringham	188	0	0
RUSHDEN	1460	105	7.19
Neighbours	4164	209	5.02
Higham Ferrers	1142	101	8.84
Newton Bromswold	178	1	0.56
Higham Park	11	0	0
Irchester	960	30	3.13
Irthlingborough	1577	68	4.31
Wymington	296	9	3.04
RAUNDS	1870	152	8.13
Neighbours	2730	98	3.59
Ringstead	727	25	3.44
Denford	324	7	2.16
Hargrave	278	2	0.72
Stanwick	609	41	6.73
Lt. Addington	569	22	3.87
Keyston	223	1	0.45

Source: Censuses, 1851 and 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 23 b: Migration rates from towns, shoe villages and adjacent parishes compared, 1871.

Place	Population in 1851	Migrants in N 1871	Migration Quotient
WALGRAVE	613	79	12.89
Neighbours	4761	443	9.3
Cransley	309	16	5.18
Broughton	691	20	2.89
Pytchley	606	21	3.47
Orlingbury	330	18	5.45
Hannington	212	21	9.91
Holcot	508	134	26.37
Brixworth	1131	120	10.61
Scaldwell	398	44	11.06
Old	449	49	10.91
WEEDON BECK	1996	146	7.31
Neighbours	3422	183	5.35
Flore	1161	61	5.25
Lower Heyford	624	38	6.09
Stowe IX Churches	381	13	3.41
Farthingstone	307	26	8.47
Everdon	712	38	5.34
Dodford	237	7	2.95
EARLS BARTON	1277	131	10.36
Neighbours	2636	279	10.58
Ecton	629	98	15.58
Mears Ashby	489	54	11.04
Wilby	468	39	8.33
Gt. Doddington	493	29	5.88
Grendon	558	59	10.57
WOLLASTON	1261	89	7.06
Neighbours	2682	195	5.30
Gt. Doddington	493	29	5.88
Irchester	960	30	3.13
Bozeat	921	45	4.89
Strixton	56	1	1.79
Grendon	558	59	10.57
Farndish	82	2	2.44
Podington	612	29	4.74
HIGHAM FERRERS	1142	101	8.84
Neighbours	3617	176	4.87
Rushden	1460	105	7.19
Irthlingborough	1577	68	4.31
Chelveston	402	2	0.50
Newton Bromswold	178	1	0.56

Place	Population in 1851	Migrants in N 1871	Migration Quotient
WOOTTON	877	156	17.79
Neighbours	3366	639	18.99
Hardingstone	1196	262	21.91
Upton	42	3	7.14
Kislingbury	690	129	18.70
Rothersthorpe	244	23	9.43
Milton Malsor	627	114	18.18
Collingtree	234	61	26.07
Courteenhall	135	16	11.85
Quinton	133	14	10.53
Preston Deanery	65	17	26.15
PIDDINGTON	559	110	19.68
Neighbours	1293	189	14.62
Preston Deanery	65	17	26.15
Hackleton	497	96	19.32
Horton	56	15	26.79
Hartwell	542	47	8.67
Quinton	133	14	10.53
BRAFIELD	497	84	16.90
Neighbours	2186	333	15.23
Cogenhoe	374	60	16.04
Whiston	69	6	8.70
Denton	595	39	6.55
Hackleton	497	96	19.32
Lt. Houghton	558	120	21.51
Lt. Billing	93	12	12.90
BURTON LATIMER	1007	34	3.28
Neighbours	4007	177	4.42
Barton Seagrave	207	10	4.83
Cranford St.J&St.A	646	14	2.17
Gt.&Lt.Addington	569	22	3.90
Finedon	1588	88	5.54
Isham	391	22	5.63
Pytchley	606	21	3.47
ex Finedon			3.68
DESBOROUGH	1350	26	1.93
Neighbours	4196	150	3.57
Rushton	429	7	1.63
Rothwell	2301	113	4.91
Harrington	201	9	4.48
Braybrooke	410	12	2.93
Brampton Ash	101	1	0.99
Wilbarston	754	8	1.06
ex Rothwell			1.95

Source: censuses, 1851 and 1871 (enumerators' books)

Table 24: Males, females and juveniles, workers and shoe workers, by main birthplace categories, 1871

	all								workers							shoe workers									
		%		%			%		%		all	male	female				%		male	%		female	%		% of	
Birthplace	total	male	rank	female	rank	juveniles	juvenile	rank	working	rank	workers	workers	workers	% male	rank	all shoe	shoe	rank	shoe	shoe	rank	shoe	shoe	rank	all shoe	rank
Northampton	19524	48.95	13	51.05	5	na	na	1	37.03	17	7230	4460	2770	61.69	16	4430	61.27	2	2612	58.57	4	1818	65.63	1	41.04	1
catchment	10753	46.41	15	53.59	3	2245	20.88	10	64.32	8	6916	4367	2549	63.14	14	2862	41.38	9	2066	47.31	8	796	31.23	8	27.81	5
rural villages	6336	44.30	17	55.70	1	1345	21.23	9	62.75	9	3976	2455	1521	61.75	15	1208	30.38	17	899	36.62	12	309	20.32	15	25.58	8
shoe villages	604	46.19	16	53.81	2	107	17.72	14	71.69	2	433	262	171	60.51	17	206	47.58	6	154	58.78	3	52	30.41	10	25.24	9
shoe pars	3,194	49.44	11	50.56	7	680	21.29	8	66.91	5	2137	1390	747	65.04	12	1313	61.44	1	922	66.33	1	391	52.34	4	29.78	3
market towns	779	47.50	14	52.50	4	148	19.00	12	66.62	6	519	330	189	63.58	13	231	44.51	7	163	49.39	7	68	35.98	7	29.44	4
townships	3368	49.55	10	50.45	8	722	21.44	7	65.59	7	2209	1444	765	65.37	11	1331	60.25	3	924	63.99	2	407	53.20	3	30.58	2
Bucks & Beds	444	52.70	5	47.30	13	72	16.22	15	67.12	4	298	206	92	69.13	10	117	39.26	11	89	43.20	11	28	30.43	9	23.93	11
long range	9178	51.81	8	48.19	10	2157	23.50	5	58.72	13	5389	3960	1429	73.48	7	1837	34.09	12	1410	35.61	13	427	29.88	11	23.24	13
contiguous counties	3398	49.29	12	50.71	6	708	20.84	11	59.62	11	2026	1429	597	70.53	8	635	31.34	16	470	32.89	17	165	27.64	14	25.98	7
distant counties	3573	52.73	4	47.27	14	790	22.11	6	59.08	12	2111	1583	528	74.99	5	671	31.79	14	521	32.91	16	150	28.41	13	22.35	14
other distant	2207	54.19	3	45.81	15	659	29.86	4	56.73	14	1252	948	304	75.72	4	531	42.41	8	419	44.20	9	112	36.84	6	21.09	15
London	1374	52.40	6	47.60	12	506	36.83	2	52.33	15	719	538	181	74.83	6	351	48.82	5	269	50.00	6	82	45.30	5	23.36	12
Ireland	323	56.35	2	43.65	16	39	12.07	17	68.04	3	215	166	49	77.21	2	85	39.53	10	73	43.98	10	12	24.49	15	14.12	16
Scotland	170	64.12	1	35.88	17	21	12.35	16	72.35	1	123	101	22	82.11	1	39	31.71	15	35	34.65	14	4	18.18	17	10.26	17
adjacent towns	514	50.39	9	49.61	9	96	18.68	13	61.09	10	314	220	94	70.06	9	103	32.80	13	75	34.09	15	28	29.79	12	27.18	6
distant cities	517	51.84	7	48.16	11	155	29.98	3	50.48	16	261	199	62	76.25	3	147	56.32	4	111	55.78	5	36	58.06	2	24.49	10

Source: census summary tables and enurmerators' books

Note: shoe villages are also included in shoe parishes and shoe towns (not shown separately) are included in shoe parishes and in townships